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The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

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F O S D I C K

My Account with the Unknown Soldier

N I E B U H R

Barthianism and Political Reaction

A. E. H O L T

Bigger and Better Peasant Wars

JUNE SURVEY OF BOOKS

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In This Issue

HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK delivered this declaration on the Unknown Soldier first in his own pulpit in the Riverside church, New York, and later in a conference on the ministry and the war issue, where it attracted international attention.

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(Continued in 3rd Column)

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

June 6, 1934

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Contents

Editorial
- Editorial Paragraphs 747
- Baptists in a Time Like This 750
- The Future of the Socialist Party 752

Contributed Articles
- My Account with the Unknown Soldier, by Harry Emerson Fosdick 754
- Barthianism and Political Reaction, by Reinhold Niebuhr 757
- Bigger and Better Peasant Wars! by A. E. Holt ... 759

Verse 761

June Survey of Books
- Social Change and the New Deal, edited by William F. Ogburn 762
- The Inevitable Cross, by W. E. Orchard 762
- New Bible Evidence, by Sir Charles Marston 763
- Our Master's Voice: Advertising, by James Rorty ... 763
- Dare to Live, by Gerald Breitigam 764
- Three Essays on America, by Van Wyck Brooks 764
- The Vatican: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow, by George Seldes 765
- Iron, Blood and Profits, by George Seldes 765
- What Is the Oxford Group? Anonymous 766
- The Larger Parish, by Edmund deS. Brunner 766
- America's Recovery Program, by A. A. Berle, jr., and eight others 767
- The Air Menace and the Answer, by Elvira Fradkin 767
- Portrait of America, by Diego Rivera 768
- Crisis Government, by Lindsey Rogers 768
- The Cross, Its History and Symbolism, by G. W. Benson 769
- The Trail of Life in the Middle Years, by Rufus M. Jones 769
- Reality and Illusion, by Richard Rothschild 770
- New Religious Dramas, by Louis Wilson and others. 770
- Books in Brief 771

The Question Box 773
News of the Christian World 774-783
The New Films 783
Books Received 783

Calendar of Coming Events

June 6. Baltimore Methodist annual conference, First church, Baltimore, Md.
June 6. Vermont Methodist Episcopal conference, Barre, Vt.
June 7-10. State Christian Endeavor convention, Emporia, Kans.
June 7-12. Meeting general synod of the Reformed Church in America, Central church, Grand Rapids, Mich.
June 8. Conference on modern religious movements, Keuka college, N. Y.
June 10-Aug. 20. Northfield summer conferences, East Northfield, Mass.
June 11-13. Presbyterian synod of Indiana, Hanover college, Hanover, Ind.
June 11-16. Y.M.C.A. student conference, Seattle, Wash.
June 11-18. Northwest Christian summer young people's conference, Spokane, Wash.
June 12-14. Texas Disciples convention, Temple, Tex.
June 13. New England Southern Methodist Episcopal conference, New London, Conn.
June 13-19. Annual conference, Church of the Brethren, Ames, Ia.
June 16-26. Y.W.C.A. student conference, Seabeck, Wash.
June 18-20. Second annual conference, the church and the social order, Auburn, N. Y.
June 18-21. Presbyterian synod of Ohio and Women's synodical society for missions meeting, Wooster, O.
June 18-30. Keswick conference, Ivanhoe temple, Kansas city, Mo.
June 18-30. Third summer school of theology, interdenominational, National Bible institute, New York city.
June 20-27. Summer school of missions, interdenominational, Winona Lake, Ind.

In This Issue

(Continued from 1st column)

critic of Chicago, at present on the staff of the Chicago Herald-Examiner.

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XUM

The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
An Undenominational Journal of Religion

VOLUME LI CHICAGO, JUNE 6, 1934 NUMBER 23

EDITORIAL

A PROFOUNDLY disquieting afterword comes from London concerning the punishment meted out to the young chief of Bechuanaland, Tshekedi, last year. As readers of The Christian Century (cf. editorial of October 25, 1933) will remember, Great Britain expended more than £5,000 to send a vice-admiral, marines and field guns to Bechuanaland, where Tshekedi was convicted of having ordered the flogging of a dissolute white man, deposed from his chieftainship, and deported "in circumstances of such degradation," to quote an English account, "that it is on record that even white women wept at the spectacle." So far as we know no word of defense of the white man involved was attempted. The man was a self-confessed rotter, and the punishment he was alleged to have received was generally regarded as having been his just desert. But Tshekedi was humiliated, nevertheless, because it was felt necessary to uphold the racial dogma that no black man is ever to punish a white. Now the Christian World reports that Sir John Harris is "in a position to prove that Tshekedi never at any time either in writing or by word of mouth gave anything that could be construed as an order to flog a white man." White prestige evidently outran British justice! There is a day of reckoning coming.

Tshekedi Wasn't Even Guilty

College Presidents Urge Measures for Peace

ONE HUNDRED college presidents have put their signatures to a statement, addressed to the President, recommending six specific measures to be adopted for the prevention of war. The preventive measures include acts of congress empowering the President to declare an embargo on all trade with a belligerent, forbidding loans to belligerents, forbidding the use of armed forces to protect American financial interests abroad or to collect foreign debts, and prohibiting the private and uncontrolled manufacture and sale of firearms and ammunition, immediate adherence to the world court and the submission of terms on which we will join the league. The statement further recommends that, in the event of the United States becoming involved in war, the President be authorized and required to take control of all industries which have to do with raw materials, and that we join the league immediately and unconditionally in case of an overt attack or an imminent threat of war against us. Thirty-five other college presidents, in addition to the hundred, have signified their approval of all but one or two of the items in this program. It is to be noted that the signers are, with very few exceptions, the heads of the smaller institutions which still stand relatively close to their denominational origins. They are representatives of evangelical opinion rather than of the educational leadership of the country. They are none the less qualified, for that, to speak a wise word on this subject. But in weighing the influence of the signers, weighty as they are, one must observe the fact that the presidents of the great endowed universities and of the state universities are not among the sponsors for the whole program, and that only three or four of them give even limited support to it. What inference may be drawn from that?

The Decision Before the Social Workers

SUCH a speech as Dr. Rexford G. Tugwell, assistant secretary of agriculture, delivered to the Kansas City conference on social work needs to be considered against the background of the social workers' profession. The recent succession of celebrations of such careers as those which Graham Taylor, Mary McDowell and Harriet Vittum have followed in Chicago, and Lillian Wald in New York, indicate that professional social work is rapidly nearing a turning-point. The period of the pioneers is about over. Such trail-breakers as we have named, and scores of others equally devoted if perhaps not as widely known, have rendered service of undisputed worth to their day and generation. But the limitations of that service, in so far as it is confined to what is sometimes called "ambulance work" among the victims of social injustice, is contributing to a growing spirit of disquiet among the social workers themselves. During the last three or four years these questions have tended to fade somewhat into the background as the social workers have

XUM

found their energies absorbed in emergency relief work. Now, however, the spirit of heart-searching is beginning to reassert itself. If mass unemployment is to be a lasting fact in American life, as is widely asserted, how much neutrality should the social worker and his institutions preserve toward a society which permits such human wastage? Professor Tugwell gave point to the question when, at Kansas City, he lashed out against the social work that has been "a handout on the giving end and an insufficient dole on the receiving end." And his demand that the social worker drop all pretense at neutrality and actively enlist for the establishment of a social order in which men shall be "rescued from oppression," makes clear the issue which the social worker faces. It is encouraging to see, in the columns of such a journal as the Survey, that an influential portion of the social work profession, recognizing the reality and importance of the issue, is fast approaching the place where it will make ambulance work clearly subservient to service on the firing-line.

A Good Time for Naval Silence

WHAT malign influence is it which seems to load presidential cabinets with secretaries of the navy who are always getting into trouble? It would be ungracious to go back over the list and dig up reminders of the blunders which have emanated from the occupants of that distinguished office in recent years. But the present secretary bids fair, if he stays in office long enough, to break all records. Mr. Swanson's most recent contribution to the history of diplomatic *contretemps* in his statement to the press that if Japan keeps on talking about scrapping the ratios of the 5-5-3 naval treaty the United States will have to consider fortifying a lot more naval bases in the far Pacific. Perhaps the navy secretary thought that the sort of threat which would frighten the Japanese. If so, he knows better by this time. Rather than shake in their shoes, the Japanese jingoes seized on the Swanson statement with loud cheers. And well they might! For by smearing it all over the Japanese press they have been aided in their campaign to convince the Japanese public that the United States is in a belligerent mood, thus justifying larger naval and military expenditures. And by appealing to the text of the treaties of Washington, they are able to argue that, since abstaining from fortifying naval bases and restricting the size of the Japanese navy were then linked together, action by the United States in resuming such fortifying would automatically end the ratios and leave Japan free to build as large a navy as she pleases. Naturally, the Japanese sword-rattlers do not care how many isolated and indefensible naval stations the United States has on scattered islands in the Pacific provided that Japan's fleet is powerful enough to swallow them at any time. There are extremely delicate and enormously important negotiations just about to begin between Great Britain, Japan and the United States over this issue of naval power in the Pacific. As a first step toward some peace-protecting outcome from these negotiations, would it not be well to gag all the admirals and naval secretaries in London, Tokyo and Washington?

Liberty and Democracy Against Nationalism

DEMOCRACY is not yet a discredited concept and liberty still has its defenders, in other countries as well as in this. "Liberty and Democratic Leadership" was the slogan under which a company of the leaders of English thought—men and women of different parties and of various occupations, industrial, political, academic and literary—united in sending out an appeal to the nation. In response to the interest which it elicited, they have now put forth a second pronunciamento, too tentative to constitute a complete program but specific enough to indicate clearly the direction in which their minds are moving. They want the procedure of parliament and the cabinet so modified as to make both more responsive to the will of the people. They want fascist and fasc-oid intimidations suppressed by the prohibition of "private armies" and all organized bands wearing uniforms to indicate political opinions, thus preventing violence from displacing discussion in the formation of public opinion. They are for strict limitation of armaments by international agreement and with the understanding that Great Britain must accept for herself whatever international supervision of the keeping of these agreements she deems necessary for others. They want the government to go beyond mere "consultation" in the case of violations of peace or of armament agreements, and to make the country's definite support of the policy clear in advance. Every sort of collective action, including economic embargo, must be employed before resorting to armed cooperation, if obligations are broken. Traffic in armaments must be taken out of private hands and put under international control. Most drastic of all: aviation must be "transferred by every nation to world ownership." This last is a policy which is a long way from realization. It implies a type of world organization which does not yet exist. But the proposal is an index of the seriousness with which they take the problem of curbing the spirit of belligerent and competitive nationalism.

The Beginning of the End of Private Traffic in Arms

UNANIMOUSLY favorable reports by the senate and house committees on foreign relations and unanimous votes by the senate and the house, all within three days, brought to the President's desk for his signature the joint resolution authorizing and empowering him to put an embargo on the shipment of arms and munitions to Paraguay or Bolivia or both, "after consultation with other American republics and with their cooperation." Since the President has been urging the passage of the measure, his action is not in doubt, and the consultations with the South American governments are already in progress. Each of the belligerents has

XUM

been anxious for the President to assume the responsibility of declaring the other the aggressor and limiting the embargo to that one alone. Such a plan will not serve the purpose, which is not to adjudicate the controversy but to stop the fighting. Congress was brought to its mood of unwonted unanimity by a disclosure of the large amount of arms that have been shipped—more than a quarter of a million dollars worth in the last three months, and chiefly to Bolivia—and especially by the report of a shipment of bombing planes about to be made. Bombing planes are no respecters of persons, and the prospect of having the towns and civilian populations of either country blown up by American equipment and for the profit of American firms was too disquieting for even the staunchest defenders of individual initiative and private business. While the joint resolution which has been passed has reference only to the Chaco war, it is not too much to hope that the principle which it recognizes—that of responsibility for the international consequences of international traffic in arms and munitions—will soon be formulated in a policy of general application.

Managed Economy in a Capitalistic Society

MUSSOLINI cut loose the other day in the chamber of deputies with a speech which was a marvel of frankness, even for him. One advantage of being a Mussolini is that you can cut loose. Or perhaps it is one advantage of having a chamber of deputies which merely gives an audition and applause to il duce and whose support does not greatly matter. He does not ask them; he tells them. Among the things that he told them, in a tone that alternated between hilarity and command, were these: that Italy is now economically so low that it cannot safely go any lower, and that it is not likely to get higher very soon; that the country might as well forget about its lost prosperity and the vain hope of its return and develop "ascetic heroism"; that the treasury has an accumulated deficit of 12 billion lire for the last four years and will have another of about the average annual amount this year; that naval tonnage will be built up to the limit of the international agreement; that peace will not be perpetual and Italy must be prepared to look out for herself when the break comes; that the value of the lire will be kept stable by more rigorous governmental control of all financial transactions. Careful observers have reported, during recent months, that the widely advertised fascist policies for the economic rehabilitation of Italy have produced a net result of approximately nothing. Conservative critics comment with satisfaction upon the failure of fascism's managed economy to accomplish beneficial results in spite of the complete reorganization of the political and industrial structure and the thorough subordination of the individual to the state. The answer to that is that there has not been any complete reorganization of the industrial structure, and that Italy is as much a capitalistic state as it ever was. It is, undoubtedly, a question whether a "managed economy" can ever succeed where the motive of private profit remains the mainspring of the whole machine. Mussolini's frank admissions tend to support the conclusion that it cannot.

Are Liberals Losing Faith In Roosevelt?

IF the President is as good a politician as he is widely credited with being he must have pondered with more than usual concern the document, signed by two hundred liberals, recently presented to him by Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard. This document, entitled "An Acid Test for the New Deal," is to be printed in full in the Nation and the Survey. It takes up the various features of the administration's program in detail, and makes more suggestions for changes than could be summarized in a single editorial. But the gravamen of its charges bears on the NRA, and turns on belief that only an undisguised and unremitting enforcement of the codes by the government can protect the nation's industrial life from such complete absorption by monopolies as the Darrow report foresaw. Senators Cutting and Costigan are among the signers of this document. While the two hundred names contain some left-wingers who would hardly be regarded as likely to be lasting members of the Roosevelt following under any circumstances, the bulk of the signatures do roughly represent that liberal support which has been the President's greatest intellectual and moral asset. They are the liberals who, recognizing the limitations of third party movements in this country, have backed Mr. Roosevelt against his reactionary opponents, partly because of the lack of alternative to the Roosevelt leadership, and partly because of their hope that the new deal would work itself out into permanent social and economic improvement. The manifesto which this group has presented to the President comes close to being an acknowledgement that, however little there still is in the way of an alternative leadership, the liberal hope has just about faded away. Mr. Roosevelt needs the liberals; by 1936 he may need them very much indeed.

Signs of a State of Social Warfare

A CONSIDERABLE part of the press has commented on the assinity of the sheriff's action at Taylorville, Illinois, in seizing Norman Thomas for attempting to speak at a socialist rally and dispersing the audience with tear gas bombs. This, it is said, is precisely the way in which to increase the size of the socialist vote. Let but enough local authorities interfere in this high-handed fashion with constitutionally guaranteed rights of free speech and there will soon be a radical vote large enough to constitute a real threat to the peace of mind of the defenders of the old order. So the argument has run, and there is some truth in it. Mr. Thomas probably made a more lasting impression on the coal-mining region of Illinois by having his meeting broken up than he would have had he been able to speak without interruption. There is

XUM

another fact which lies behind this Taylorville episode, however, which does not lend itself to such facile and condescending moralizing. This is the fact that the right of free speech never has and probably never will have any actuality in a zone of warfare. And the area is wide in the United States in which such a state of incipient or overt social warfare exists that free speech is a chimera. The American Civil Liberties union will continue to do battle for free speech in such places as the Imperial valley, the Illinois coal fields, the Pennsylvania steel towns or the cities dominated by automotive interests, but even the protection of the courts (if it can be obtained, which is doubtful) will not avail to insure the minority voice a genuine chance to be heard in such regions. Mr. Thomas's misadventure in Taylorville has turned public attention to a condition of affairs in that region which has existed for a long time. There might be value in having him visit a dozen or two dozen other places, scattered all over the country, where a similar experience would befall him. In that way the nation as a whole might awaken to a realization, which now it seems to lack, of how wide is the territory in which social warfare is in progress, or is likely to break out tomorrow.

Baptists in a Time Like This

IT WAS a brave thing for the Northern Baptist convention to select as the motto of its annual meeting concluded last week in Rochester, N. Y., the words from the book of Esther, "For Such a Time as This." The motto was hung in banners in the convention hall, displayed in special type on the official convention program, and woven into the titles of the main addresses. "Protestantism for Such a Time as This," "Baptists for Such a Time as This," "Missions for Such a Time as This," "Men for Such a Time as This," "Faith for Such a Time as This"—so ran the titles of some of the formal addresses. The motto expressed an awareness of the fact that a new world is taking form, and that there is need of a new orientation of Christianity in this new world.

It was a brave motto—braver than the words themselves indicated, for the motto is but the last half of Mordecai's injunction to the queen: "Who knowest but that thou art come to the kingdom for such a time as this?" Baptists, as denominations go, are modest enough, and it would not be fair to impute to them the notion that, like Esther, they stand in a unique relation to this critical moment of time. Their motto, however, did imply that their share of responsibility was their own, that no one else could discharge it for them, and that their duty was, therefore, in that degree unique.

How did this convention of Baptists face this new time? The answer will depend upon the place where the observer stands. If the observer stands without, looking on, he will be disappointed. If he stands on the inside looking out, he will be encouraged. The outside observer senses vividly the vast change that is taking place in the world of our time. He sees our political institutions passing into a new phase, our democratic tradition now confronting problems of which the fathers did not dream and for which their ideas do not offer a solution. He sees the capitalistic system in a state of collapse, a new economic condition emerging which was anticipated by no economist or social philosopher prior to the decade now ending—a condition of economic abundance made possible by science and machinery contrasted with an economy of scarcity, a condition involving millions of men in unemployment and demanding an ever widening margin of unemployment for those who are employed, a condition to which the old appeal to thrift and hard work does not apply. He sees a new world of ideas brought in by science and philosophy and by a better understanding of history, in which the old religious ideology does not seem at home. He sees a new generation of youth which knows little, if anything, of the lore of religion—its sacred scriptures, its hymns, its creeds, its ritual, its traditions, and which detests nothing so much as the appeal to stereotypes in place of genuine explanations.

The outside observer brings all this with him to the Baptist convention. He reads the motto, "For Such a Time as This," and then watches eagerly to see what a convention with such a motto will do. As an onlooker, what he sees disappoints him. The convention does not seem to face the realities of this new time. It seems determined to preserve its own forms of organization and their conventional functioning despite the fact that all other social institutions are undergoing reconstruction. It does not for a moment entertain the idea, even as a possible hypothesis, that a time like this may call for a reconstruction of the denominational scheme of things. From his previous reading of the newspapers, the onlooker expects to hear a lot of talk about rethinking foreign missions; but the subject is not mentioned. Instead, the convention is lifted to one of its painfully intense moments by the presentation of four young men who wish to go to a foreign field but who cannot go because there is no money to send out any new missionaries.

There is no questioning of home missions as a legitimate denominational function in this time of vast and wasteful multiplication of local churches. Instead, one of the two major questions upon which the convention spent the bulk of its time was whether the four existing societies—foreign missions, home missions, woman's foreign missions and woman's home missions—could be merged into one organization. The other question, occupying nearly two days of debate, revolved around the issue of so called "specifics," which Dr. Ashworth in his report elsewhere in this issue explains.

This seems rather boresome and even petty business to the onlooker. He is waiting for the convention to face "such a time as this," and he can almost hear the strains of Nero's fiddle while Rome is burning. That these structural matters of organization and administration are important in their way, the onlooker freely admits. But he cannot see how they have any but a remote relation to the banner under which the conven-

XUM

tion has assembled. And he cannot help asking himself this question: If this convention really faced the issues of a time like this, would not some of these organizational questions be solved by being dissolved? If, for example, the ethical question had been raised with respect to the legitimacy of Baptist home missions would it not seem like a waste of time to debate the merger of the home and foreign societies. But no, the convention was not willing—what denominational convention is willing?—to throw that question open to debate. To do so would weaken denominational morale, and the dominant purpose of these conventions appears to the onlooker to be to generate morale in the interest of the established denominational organizations.

The onlooker sits through the set addresses at the evening sessions, and as he reviews them all he is compelled to admit that he heard some great talk. Some of it, to be sure, was bromidic eloquence, lacking insight, and touching a time like this only by the conning of phrases picked up from the wayside of current discussion. The contribution of the two addresses on home and foreign missions, respectively, was nil. But other addresses came to grips with living issues. This was notable in the case of an address on "Protestantism in a Time Like This," which analyzed both Protestantism and modernity in such a fashion as to disclose wherein the church must make radical readjustments if it is to function vitally. There was also a notable address on "Baptists in a Time Like This," in which the history of the denomination was searched to prove that Baptists actually possessed a tradition which should predetermine them as leaders of all Christian groups in the issues now joined between church and state.

The only trouble with these and numerous other addresses of equal merit was, from the onlooker's point of view, that they were not geared in to the convention, or more precisely that the convention was not geared in to them. They were more decorative than integral. They presupposed no action by the convention. They set no task before it. They had their place on the periphery where they helped to create the illusion that the Baptists were facing the issues of a time like this, but they were not integral to the actual functioning of the convention.

There was one point on the program at which the onlooker, despite his growing feeling that the convention motto was not intended to be taken too seriously, hoped that something vital might emerge. That was the period marked "Consideration of the report of the committee on resolutions." What are these "resolutions" likely to consist of? he reflected. He examined his program closely. The day is Saturday. Time, 10:10 a.m. But the next order of business is put at 10:40. Thirty minutes for a consideration of resolutions! Evidently, the program makers did not intend that resolutions should have any relevancy to the convention motto! You cannot squeeze resolutions dealing in any serious or adequate way with "a time like this" into thirty minutes!

One by one the committee chairman unrolled the resolutions with a fine, clear enunciation. One by one they were adopted with a unanimous vote. Then this smooth procedure struck a snag! It was when the resolution on war was read. In his report Dr. Ashworth gives the text of this resolution and tells the story of its debate. It must suffice here to say that for once in the program, the convention made good its motto. The little half hour expanded like a grain of puffed wheat into 2½ hours. The next two items of the program, one of them the daily devotional address in a notable series which had been impressing the convention profoundly, were shoved clear off the boards. And when the debate was finally shut off and a vote was taken on the proposed amendment designed to draw the teeth of the war resolution, the explosion of No! shook the rafters.

If the onlooker had been sitting beside the editor of The Christian Century—on the very front seat—he would have seen something to season his disappointment with hope. He would have seen the personnel of two hundred or so occupants of the platform suddenly change. Previously, throughout the convention, and throughout the morning session—up to 10:10—the platform was occupied by church veterans, secretaries and other functionaries, both men and women. The main (?) business of the convention having been pretty well concluded, these venerable leaders seemed to evaporate and suddenly the beholder was aware that the platform was crowded with the younger clergy. They had come forward, ready to speak on the war resolution. You could see their speeches in their faces. The proponent of the teeth-extracting amendment was also a young man, but he had little support. The pacifist advocates would have battled all day long had not the convention called for the question.* The delegates wanted to vote. They knew their own minds. And when a speaker declared that in the next war he hoped to meet his fellow Baptists in large numbers in Atlanta and Leavenworth the vote could not be longer withheld!

From the standpoint of an outside observer who, drawn by the motto, entered the convention expecting to see these Baptists come deliberately to grips with the problems of religion thrown up by a time like this, the absurdly limited time set apart for the resolutions, together with the casual and impromptu method in which profoundly important positions on the very greatest questions were formulated (a method no more characteristic of Baptist conventions than of all other denominations), was disappointing. He went away wondering whether the convention knew what it was doing. Did it sense the wordy emptiness of its resolution on a just society? Was its action on war the expression of a deeply rooted conviction, or of momentary sentimentalism? Aren't the churches, after all, just fooling themselves in their professed purpose to put Christianity in gear with social processes? By this

*The significance of the convention's vote on this question cannot be measured by the text of the resolution. The resolution is open to serious criticism. It was the *intention* of the convention which was significant, and that was disclosed in its shot-gun reaction against any effort to weaken the resolution.

XUM

time a touch of cynicism was entering into the onlooker's reflections.

But there is another point of view. It is that of the insider. And by the insider is not meant a member of the Baptist denomination necessarily, but any churchman who has imagination enough to see just what kind of problems these are with which religion deals. Such an observer, looking from within, feeling the pressure from many sides, would be profoundly encouraged. Instead of dwelling upon the disparity between the motto and the performance under it, he would rejoice that so fine a motto was selected. The insider would be aware of the deep grooves in which organized religion runs, of the long association of the most precious spiritual values with certain habitual attitudes and activities, of the inevitable timidity with which a great Christian denomination faces any proposal to alter its structure or to reexamine the premises upon which its structure has been built lest some of these precious values should be lost.

The insider would be aware of the great range and variety of mind of which a church constituency is composed, and of the instinctive concern on the part of its leaders that the whole body shall move forward together. He would be aware of the tension and strain which exists within the denomination, between those who devoutly desire to face the world as it is and those who insist upon living in a world that has already passed away. The insider, that is to say, would enter the convention and watch its activities and its decisions with imaginative sympathy, measuring results not only in relation to the goal set up, but by the distance already traveled from the last camping place. Such an observer would find much to encourage him in the Baptist convention. He would listen for the overtones; he would read between the lines; he would sense the steady pull of a sort of tidal force carrying the denomination farther than its formal commitments could indicate. He would take account of the lesser addresses as well as of the stellar addresses, of the spontaneous expressions from the floor as well as from the platform, of the personal conversations in the corridors and the hotel lobbies. He would take note of little things which the outsider would not observe at all as, for example, the joy which lighted the face of President A. W. Beaven, recognized as the dean of Baptist leaders, when the vote on the war resolution, in whose discussion he had not participated, was taken.

The insider is likely to be too patient, too lenient, too easily satisfied with a report of bare "progress." His judgment needs to be supplemented and corrected by the impatience of the outsider who insists that the Christian church ought not allow itself to be dragged along by secular progress, but should lead secular progress, should go ahead and prepare a place where human society may find the kingdom of God. But in a time like this, when not only a new world is being born but religion is trying to unload its great burden of ecclesiastical, theological and emotional impedimenta, perhaps the sympathetic insider is more competent to judge whether and in what degree progress is being made.

The Future of the Socialist Party

THE SOCIALIST party is holding a national convention in Detroit this week. The convention has been called, not to nominate candidates for public office, but to adopt a party platform. As a party committed to the establishment of a new social order, and hence more immediately concerned with educating the public than with portioning out jobs, this device of a biennial national convention is a good one. And this year there is a chance that the platform adopted will show that the party has sharply altered its direction and method of attack. Something in the nature of a radical change in tactics would certainly seem required if the party is not to lose what significance it has had as an element in American political life.

It is no secret that the socialist party has been having a hard pull recently. In a depression period when it might have expected to prosper, it has barely managed to keep alive. The vote cast for Norman Thomas in 1932 failed to reach the mark set by the party's candidate in 1912 or 1920. Since assuming office, Mr. Roosevelt has stolen much of the old-style socialist thunder. Not only has the President, excoriating the money-changers in the temple, talked like a socialist candidate; his actual policies have so closely approximated those which the socialist party advocated in recent platforms that socialist criticism has, until lately, largely confined itself to sniping at details or calling for an increase in the size of the Roosevelt program.

As a result, there has been a marked seepage of even that restricted measure of support which the socialist candidate commanded in the last campaign. It was one of the ironies of the voting in 1932 that Mr. Thomas turned out to be much more the candidate of the intellectuals and the professional classes than the accepted champion of the proletariat. His vote was probably larger, in proportion, among teachers and clergymen than among any other part of the population. It is safe to say that a majority of those who voted the socialist ticket two years ago were not reasoned or convinced Marxists. They voted protest against a corrupt and hopeless order; they voted their belief in the necessity for a thorough renovation of society. When Mr. Roosevelt, after his inauguration, seemed to make both these things not merely a part of a verbal platform but part of a program of immediate political action, they turned their support to Mr. Roosevelt.

Moreover, the same period has witnessed a series of body blows to the claims of socialist political competence which have rested on achievements in other lands. In swift succession, the three socialist governments which most closely approximated that "reasonable" and democratic process of social transformation which has been proffered the United States, have fallen. In Great Britain, in Germany and in Austria the cabinets which made parliamentary regularity and gradualness their shibboleths were ruthlessly scrapped in the hour of crisis. Socialist publications have been

XUM

full of analyses of the causes for these defeats, and much of the analysis has been of a convincing sort. But however great its insight, there is small nourishment for any party in a diet of post-mortems.

Still further, it has become increasingly clear during the last year or two that the socialist party, as a political organization preaching and hoping eventually to administer a complete and final revelation vouchsafed to Karl Marx, has no future. Not only has the progress of events shown Marx to have been blind to some important aspects of the modern economic struggle, and mistaken about others, but it must be finally admitted that socialists are hopelessly divided among themselves as to the content of the Marxian gospel. An amusing illustration of this inner confusion of counsel will be found in Max Eastman's review in the current Nation of G. D. H. Cole's new book, "What Marx Really Meant." Declaring that Sidney Hook, in his "Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx," had left only two essential ideas held by Marx untampered with, Mr. Eastman charges that Mr. Cole has now thrown away even those last two, so that there is nothing left of Marx whatever! With one distinguished Marxist intellectual thus disposing of the two most recent attempts at Marxian interpretation by American and British socialist intellectuals, the hopeless confusion of the socialist dogmatic outlook should be obvious.

Nevertheless, despite these shocks and setbacks within and without, the socialist party opens its Detroit convention under conditions which may offer it opportunity for a new lease on life. The political situation in the United States is due to undergo many changes in the near future. Although the Literary Digest poll shows the President holding his personal popularity, the attack on his administration is gathering force. After congress has adjourned, when the President fills the whole stage at Washington, the tendency will grow to hold him responsible for the failure of government agencies to function successfully.

The gradual whittling down of the Roosevelt program for economic and social reform, under pressure from business and the conservative press, is already opening up the prospect of an important political movement to the left of the administration. It is not without significance that the farmer-labor party in Minnesota has this year adopted a public ownership platform, or that the LaFollette forces in Wisconsin have this year dropped all connection with the republican party and launched a party of their own. The question which the socialists will face in Detroit is as to their relation to this possible left-wing political movement. If the white collar liberals, the factory workers, the farmers and the miners become convinced, between now and 1936, that the hopes they have had in Mr. Roosevelt are to be disappointed, will the present socialist party play any important part in recruiting and giving direction to a radical political movement?

Three proposals for future socialist action will be presented to the Detroit convention. The first, coming from the old-line socialists of New York city, whose glory has been their Marxist orthodoxy, is a counsel of inaction. What it comes down to is a belief that socialist platforms have been orthodox in the past; let them remain orthodox in the future; if the country fails to respond to the undiluted milk of the Marxian gospel, so much the worse for the country.

The second proposal takes the form of a manifesto signed by 47 members of the party—the self-styled "Revolutionary Policy Committee." There can be no doubt about the revolutionary nature of the committee's platform. Indeed, as Reinhold Niebuhr has pointed out, with the exception of its readiness to work with the existing labor movement in the United States, it does not differ materially from the communist platform, and is really a declaration that "the communist party has essentially the right line and is bound to prevail, if any revolutionary party prevails." One obvious and, it would be thought, decisive shortcoming in this quasi-communist platform is its lack of appeal to the farmers and the white collar groups.

The third proposal set before the socialists has been called "The Comonwealth Plan." It is a plea to the present economic disabilities of the average American citizen. By voting for legislators who will establish a socialist commonwealth, it promises within a specified period of time—the tentative draft of the platform sets the date as 1937—to provide every family in America with annual earnings of $5,000. The essence of the platform which the socialists would carry to the country, if this plan were adopted, would be something like this: "Do you want $5,000 a year for your family? It is available, waiting for you if you will vote for an organization of the political life of the nation which will make it possible to take advantage of the technical and economic resources which are now perverted or stifled by a profit-seeking competitive society." Orthodox Marxists will search a long time before they find here more than faint adumbrations of "Das Kapital," but the advantage of such a platform lies in the appeal in its first line to every citizen with an income below the $5,000 level. It should be said, moreover, that this program has gone a long way toward providing a genuine appeal for the farmer, as well as for the debt-ridden of all classes.

If the Detroit convention should adopt the Commonwealth plan, or any program resembling it, it would put an entirely new face on the prospects for American politics. Academic questions of Marxian theory would disappear from socialist propaganda; at the same time Mr. Roosevelt—or any other leader trying to carry one of the major parties into a liberal position—would have to reckon with the issue raised. For this would be no issue in some vague realm of political theory; an offer of material abundance in the immediate future becomes about as attractive and inescapable an issue as politics could devise. That vast portion of the nation, typified by the 5,879 clergymen who recently listed themselves as convinced of the need for "socialism," will therefore watch the deliberations of the Detroit convention to see whether the socialist party is awakening to political realities, or is content to let the process of its political disintegration continue.

XUM

My Account with the Unknown Soldier

By Harry Emerson Fosdick

IT was an inspired idea to deposit the body of an unrecognized soldier in the national memorial of the great war, and yet, when one stops to think of it, how strange it is! So this is the outcome of western civilization, which for nearly two thousand years has had Christ and in which democracy and science have had their widest opportunity, that the whole nation pauses, its acclamations rise, its colorful pageantry centers, its patriotic oratory flourishes, around the unrecognizable body of a soldier blown to bits on the battlefield. That is strange.

It was the war-lords themselves who picked him out as the symbol of war. So be it! As a symbol of war we accept him from their hands.

Living with the Unknown Soldier

You may think that I, being a Christian minister, did not know him. I knew him well! From the north of Scotland, where they planted the sea with mines, to the trenches of France, I lived with him and his fellows, British, Australian, New Zealander, French, American. The places where he fought, from Ypres through the Somme battlefield to the southern trenches, I saw while he still was there. I lived with him in dugouts, in the trenches, and on destroyers searching for submarines off the shores of France. Short of actual battle, from training camp to hospital, from the fleet to no-man's land, I, a Christian minister, saw the war. Moreover, I, a Christian minister, participated in it. I too was persuaded that it was a war to end war. I too was a gullible fool and thought that modern war could somehow make the world safe for democracy. They sent men like me to explain to the army the high meanings of war and, by every argument we could command, to strengthen their morale. I wonder if I ever spoke to the Unknown Soldier.

One night, in a ruined barn behind the lines, I spoke at sunset to a company of hand-grenaders who were going out that night to raid the German trenches. They told me that on the average no more than half a company came back from such a raid, and I, a minister of Christ, tried to nerve them for their suicidal and murderous endeavor. I wonder if the Unknown Soldier was in that barn that night.

Once in a dugout which in other days had been a French wine cellar I bade godspeed at two in the morning to a detail of men going out on patrol in no-man's land. They were a fine company of American boys fresh from home. I recall that, huddled in the dark, underground chamber, they sang

Lead, kindly light, amid th' encircling gloom—

Then, with my admonitions in their ears, they went down from the second to the first line trenches and so out to no-man's land. I wonder if the Unknown Soldier was in that dugout.

I have an account to settle between my soul and the Unknown Soldier. I deceived him. I deceived myself first, unwittingly, and then I deceived him, assuring him that good consequence could come out of that. As a matter of hard-headed, biological fact, what good can come out of that? Mad civilization, you cannot sacrifice on bloody altars the best of your breed and expect anything to compensate for that.

Of this one thing we may be fairly sure concerning the Unknown Soldier—that he was a conscript. He may have been a volunteer but on an actuarial average he probably was a conscript. The long arm of the nation reached into his home, touched him on the shoulder, saying, You must go to France and fight. If some one asks why in this "land of the free" conscription was used, the answer is, of course, that it was necessary if we were to win the war. Certainly it was. And that reveals something terrific about modern war. We cannot get soldiers—not enough of them, not the right kind of them—without forcing them. When a nation goes to war now, the entire nation must go. That means that the youth of the nation must be compelled, coerced, conscripted to fight.

The Conscripted Boy

When you stand in Arlington before the tomb of the Unknown Soldier on some occasion, let us say, when the panoply of military glory decks it with music and color, are you thrilled? I am not—not any more. I see there the memorial of one of the saddest things in American history, from the continued repetition of which may God deliver us!—the conscripted boy.

He was a son, the hope of the family, and the nation coerced him. He was a lover and the deepest ambition in his life was not desire for military glory or hatred of another country or any other idiotic thing like that, but love of a girl and hope of a home. He was, maybe, a husband and a father and already, by that slow and beautiful gradation which all fathers know, he had felt the deep ambitions of his heart being transferred from himself to his children. And the nation coerced him. I am not blaming him; he was conscripted. I am not blaming the nation; it never could have won the war without conscription. I am simply saying that *that* is modern war, not by accident but by necessity, and with every repetition that will be more and more the attribute of war.

Last time they coerced our sons. Next time, of course, they will coerce our daughters, and in any future war they will absolutely conscript all property. Old-fashioned Americans, born out of the long tradition of liberty, some of us have trouble with these new coercions used as short cuts to get things done, but nothing else compares with this inevitable, universal, national conscription in time of war. Repeated once or twice more, it will end everything in this nation that remotely approaches liberty.

If I blame anybody about this matter, it is men like

XUM

myself who ought to have known better. We went out to the army and explained to these valiant men what a resplendent future they were preparing for their children by their heroic sacrifice. O, Unknown Soldier, however can I make that right with you? For sometimes I think I hear you asking me about it: *Where is this great, new era that the war was to create? Where is it? They blew out my eyes in the Argonne. Is it because of that that now from Arlington I strain them vainly to see the great gains of the war? If I could see the prosperity, plenty, and peace of my children for which this mangled body was paid down!*

The Terror of Immortality

Sometimes I do not want to believe in immortality. Sometimes I hope that the Unknown Soldier will never know.

Many of you knew these men better, you may think, than I knew them, and already you may be relieving my presentation of the case by another picture. Probably, you say, the Unknown Soldier enjoyed soldiering and had a thrilling time in France. The great war, you say, was the most exciting episode of our time. Some of us found in it emotional release unknown before or since. We escaped from ourselves. We were carried out of ourselves. Multitudes were picked up from a dull routine, lifted out of the drudgery of common days with which they were infinitely bored, and plunged into an exciting adventure which they remember yet as the most thrilling episode of their careers.

Indeed, you say, how could martial music be so stirring and martial poetry so exultant if there were not at the heart of war a lyric glory? Even in the churches you sing

> Onward, Christian soldiers,
> Marching as to war.

You, too, when you wish to express or arouse ardor and courage, use war's symbolism. The Unknown Soldier, sound in mind and body—yes! The Unknown Soldier a conscript—probably! But be fair and add that the Unknown Soldier had a thrilling time in France.

What Happened in France?

To be sure, he may have had. Listen to this from a wounded American after a battle. "We went over the parapet at five o'clock and I was not hit till nine. They were the greatest four hours of my life." Quite so! Only let me talk to you a moment about that. *That* was the first time he went over the parapet. Anything risky, dangerous, tried for the first time, well handled, and now escaped from, is thrilling to an excitable and courageous soul. What about the second time and the third time and the fourth? What about the dreadful times between, the long-drawn-out, monotonous, dreary, muddy barrenness of war, concerning which one who knew said, "Nine-tenths of war is waiting"? The trouble with much familiar talk about the lyric glory of war is that it comes from people who never saw any soldiers except the American troops, fresh, resilient, who had time to go over the parapet about once. You ought to have seen the hardening-up camps of the armies which had been at the business since 1914. Did you ever see them? Did you look, as I have looked, into the faces of young men who had been over the top, wounded, hospitalized, hardened up—over the top, wounded, hospitalized, hardened up—over the top, wounded, hospitalized, hardened up—four times, five times, six times? Never talk to a man who has seen that about the lyric glory of war.

Symbol of What?

Nevertheless, some may say that while war is a grim and murderous business with no glory in it in the end, and while the Unknown Soldier doubtless knew that well, we have the right in our imagination to make him the symbol of whatever was most idealistic and courageous in the men who went out to fight. Of course we have. Now, let us do that! On the body of a French sergeant killed in battle was found a letter to his parents in which he said, "You know how I made the sacrifice of my life before leaving." So we think of our Unknown Soldier as an idealist, rising up in answer to a human call and making the sacrifice of his life before leaving. His country seemed to him like Christ himself, saying, "If any man would come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me." Far from appealing to his worst, the war brought out his best—his loyalty, his courage, his venturesomeness, has care for the downtrodden, his capacity for self-sacrifice. The noblest qualities of his young manhood were aroused. He went out to France a flaming patriot and in secret quoted Rupert Brooke to his own soul:

> If I should die, think only this of me:
> That there's some corner of a foreign field
> That is for ever England.

There, you say, is the Unknown Soldier.

Yes, indeed, did you suppose I never had met him? I talked with him many a time. When the words that I would speak about war are a blistering fury on my lips and the encouragement I gave to war is a deep self-condemnation in my heart, it is of that I think. For I watched war lay its hands on these strongest, loveliest things in men and use the noblest attributes of the human spirit for what ungodly deeds! Is there anything more infernal than this, to take the best that is in man and use it to do what war does? This is the ultimate description of war—it is the prostitution of the noblest powers of the human soul to the most dastardly deeds, the most abysmal cruelties of which our human nature is capable. That *is* war.

The Effect on Character

Granted, then, that the Unknown Soldier should be to us a symbol of everything most idealistic in a valiant warrior, I beg of you, be realistic and follow through what war made the Unknown Soldier do with his idealism. Here is one eye-witness speaking:

"Last night, at an officers' mess there was great laughter at the story of one of our men who had spent his last cartridge in defending an attack. 'Hand me down your spade, Mike,' he said; and as six Germans came one by one round the end of a traverse, he split

XUM

each man's skull open with a deadly blow." The war made the Unknown Soldier do *that* with his idealism.

"I can remember," says one infantry officer, "a pair of hands (nationality unknown) which protruded from the soaked ashen soil like the roots of a tree turned upside down; one hand seemed to be pointing at the sky with an accusing gesture. . . . Floating on the surface of the flooded trench was the mask of a human face which had detached itself from the skull." War harnessed the idealism of the Unknown Soldier to *that!*

An Account to Settle

Do I not have an account to settle between my soul and him? They sent men like me into the camps to awaken his idealism, to touch those secret, holy springs within him so that with devotion, fidelity, loyalty, and self-sacrifice he might go out to war. O war, I hate you most of all for this, that you do lay your hands on the noblest elements in human character, with which we might make a heaven on earth, and you use them to make a hell on earth instead. You take even our science, the fruit of our dedicated intelligence, by means of which we might build here the city of God, and, using it, you fill the earth instead with new ways of slaughtering men. You take our loyalty, our unselfishness, with which we might make the earth beautiful, and, using these our finest qualities, you make death fall from the sky and burst up from the sea and hurtle from unseen ambuscades sixty miles away; you blast fathers in the trenches with gas while you are starving their children at home with blockades; and you so bedevil the world that fifteen years after the armistice we cannot be sure who won the war, so sunk in the same disaster are victors and vanquished alike. If war were fought simply with evil things, like hate, it would be bad enough but, when one sees the deeds of war done with the loveliest faculties of the human spirit, one looks into the very pit of hell.

Suppose one thing more—that the Unknown Soldier was a Christian. Maybe he was not, but suppose he was, a Christian like Sergeant York, who at the beginning intended to take Jesus so seriously as to refuse to fight but afterward, otherwise persuaded, made a real soldier. For these Christians do make soldiers. Religion is a force. When religious faith supports war, when, as in the Crusades, the priests of Christ cry "Deus vult"—God wills it—and, confirming ordinary motives, the dynamic of Christian devotion is added, then an incalculable resource of confidence and power is released. No wonder the war departments wanted the churches behind them!

Was the Unknown Soldier a Christian?

Suppose, then, that the Unknown Soldier was a Christian. I wonder what he thinks about it now. Practically all modern books about war emphasize the newness of it—new weapons, new horrors, new extensiveness. At times, however, it seems to me that still the worst things about war are the ancient elements. In the Bible we read terrible passages where the ancient Hebrews thought they had command from Jehovah to slaughter the Amalekites, "both man and woman, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass." Dreadful! we say, an ancient and appalling idea! Ancient? Appalling? Upon the contrary, that is war, and always will be. A military order, issued in our generation by an American general in the Philippines and publicly acknowledged by his counsel afterwards in a military court, commanded his soldiers to burn and kill, to exterminate all capable of bearing arms, and to make the island of Samar a howling wilderness. Moreover, his counsel acknowledged that he had specifically named the age of ten with instructions to kill every one over that. Far from launching into a denunciation of that American general I am much more tempted to state his case for him. Why not? Cannot boys and girls of ten fire a gun? Why not kill everything over ten? That is war, past, present, and future. All that our modern fashions have done is to make the necessity of slaughtering children not the comparatively simple and harmless matter in Samar of shooting some of them, one by one, but the wholesale destruction of children, starving them by millions, impoverishing them, spoiling the chances of unborn generations of them, as in the great war.

Stay Out of War!

I am not trying to make others sentimental about this. I want them to be hard-headed. We can have on the one side this monstrous thing or we can have Christ, but we cannot have both. O my country, stay out of war! Cooperate with the nations in every movement that has any hope for peace; enter the world court, support the League of Nations, contend undiscourageably for disarmament, but set your face steadfastly and forever against being drawn into another war.

O church of Christ, stay out of war! Withdraw from every alliance that maintains or encourages it. It was not a pacifist, it was Field-Marshal Earl Haig, the British commander, who said, "It is the business of the churches to make my business impossible." And O my soul, stay out of war!

At any rate, I will myself do the best I can to settle my account with the Unknown Soldier. I renounce war. I renounce war because of what it does to our own men. I have watched them coming gassed from the front line trenches. I have seen the long, long hospital trains filled with their mutilated bodies. I have heard the cries of the crazed and the prayers of those who wanted to die and could not, and I remember the maimed and ruined men for whom the war is not yet over. I renounce war because of what it compels us to do to our enemies, bombing their mothers in villages, starving their children by blockades, laughing over our coffee cups about every damnable thing we have been able to do to them. I renounce war for its consequences, for the lies it lives on and propagates, for the undying hatreds it arouses, for the dictatorships it puts in the place of democracy, for the starvation that stalks after it. I renounce war and never again, directly or indirectly, will I sanction or support another! O Unknown Soldier, in penitent reparation I make you that pledge.

Barthianism and Political Reaction

By Reinhold Niebuhr

THE BARTHIAN theologians began as frustrated and disappointed socialists. Brunner and Barth both acknowledge their indebtedness to Ragaz, Kutter and the Christian socialists who were believed in the pre-war period to have established an effective relationship between Christianity and socialism. The world war convinced Barth and his followers that the hope of the establishment of a kingdom of God on earth was an idle dream and they returned therefore to the emphasis of orthodox Christianity upon the perennial sinfulness of the world and the need of a salvation which transcended the whole sphere of socio-ethical relationships. Neither human nature nor society could be redeemed in ethical terms. All that was possible was to accept the grace of God and to know oneself "justified" in a world of sin.

Logically this emphasis need not preclude rigorous social, ethical and political activity looking toward the alleviation of the world's injustices and inequalities. Barth and Brunner remain socialists who insist that capitalism must be destroyed even though a good Christian does not give himself to the utopian illusion that the socialism which is substituted for capitalism represents either the kingdom of God or even a proximately just society. As a rational and ethically sensitive person, declare both Barth and Brunner, the Christian is bound to seek a social order which will throw the most effective restraints about the sinfulness of man and establish the most tolerable communal life. But all this is fairly inconsequential in the light of the real problem which faces the Christian, i. e., the distance between the human and divine, between time and eternity, and the necessity of appropriating the grace of God by which that chasm is bridged.

Serving Social Reaction

Though a modified social radicalism is thus compatible with the neo-orthodoxy which Barth has created, it is becoming increasingly apparent that the emphases of the new theological conservatism are being exploited in the interest of political reaction to a greater degree than in the interest of social liberalism and radicalism.

Various elements in Barthian orthodoxy lend themselves to this use by political reactionaries, even though, in the case of Barth, the conception of the transcendence of God is so absolute that it is impossible to use either religious dogma or religious emotion for the purpose of supporting or sanctifying any particular political program, either conservative or radical. Among his followers this is less true. Gogarten in particular has developed a political ethic from the Barthian theology which finally ends in the bog of a reactionary feudalism.

The first element in the Barthian orthodoxy which can easily become grist for reaction is its revival of the Lutheran theory of the *Schoepfungsordnung* — the "order of creation." By this the natural relations of life, family, state, vocation and race are designated. It is maintained that both the rationalistic individualism of the nineteenth century and the rationalistic collectivism of the twentieth century do violence to these relations which God has ordained. There is probably some truth in this charge. The Russian attitude toward the family and the generally critical attitude of socialism toward the sentiment of nationality may be regarded as a too consistently rationalistic attitude toward natural sentiments and relationships.

Finding Social Institutions "God-Given"

Perhaps it is true that the imagination of religion can deal more adequately with the organic character of life than a rationalism which reduces organism to mechanism and reacts against a mechanistic individualism with an equally insupportable mechanistic collectivism. However, there is only one step from the religious sanctification of the order of creation to the religious support of particular types of social organization which the theologian regards as "God-given." Thus Gogarten sets a feudalistic conception of a social order, which smacks of serfdom, against rationalistic equalitarianism in the name of a religious conception of vocation *(Beruf)*. The world of nature, it is argued, is full of inequality and the rationalist is trying to coerce this world into equality.

The same theory of the order of creation gives a new support to the idea of statehood and many a Barthian epigone is using it to justify the state absolutism which is setting itself up in Germany. In the same way the anti-semitism of the Hitler movement is justified because it is supposed that the reality of race belongs to an order of creation to which rationalists are trying to do violence. It is interesting to note that the new dualism of Barthian orthodoxy works in paradoxical fashion here. In one moment the world is a world of sin which cannot be redeemed. In the next moment it represents a "God-given" order which must not be violated.

An Orthodoxy That Breeds Indifference

Thus some of the modern theological reactionaries manage to combine all the weaknesses of both religious dualism and monism, of a too rigorous separation between God and the world and a too consistent identification of the two. The national socialist Lutheran preacher who argued at a meeting of the German Christians that when the apostle Paul declared "in Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek" he did not mean that this ideal was to be realized in a world of sin but that he meant it for the world of the resurrection, was thus drawing a possible though not a necessary deduction from the new orthodox emphasis.

Another emphasis in the neo-orthodoxy of Barthian-

XUM

ism which may be appropriated by the reactionaries is its good Lutheran emphasis upon "justification by faith." Brunner in his recent book, "Das Gebot und die Ordnungen," derives some valuable insights from this doctrine. He recognizes, for instance, that political action cannot be "Christian" in any exact sense and that the effort to have a "Christian socialism" or a peculiarly Christian approach to any cultural or political problem will destroy that unity between Christian and non-Christian action which is necessary for the success of any secular enterprise. The idea that the Christian is "justified" in doing the things which must be done in an imperfect world enables him to deal realistically with all current problems and to regard various ascetic and semi-ascetic withdrawals from the world as "parasitic" efforts to establish purity at the expense of other people's "sins."

But the same doctrine of justification also persuades Brunner that a judge who administers a bad law should not worry too much about it since God will justify him in enforcing a bad law in an imperfect world. The judge must not be too anxious about the imperfection of the law, particularly since it is worth remembering that "any given law" is better than no law at all. In all this Brunner forgets completely that no law is a fixed quantity and that judges are making law constantly by their interpretation of previous law. One can be thankful therefore that Oliver Wendell Holmes and Justices Brandeis and Cardozo have never heard of Brunner's theory of justification by faith.

Complacency to Social Injustice

Perhaps this tendency of Barthianism to sharpen the contrast between the human and divine in one minute so that all the world lies in hopeless sin and in the next minute to "justify" the hopeless world in its imperfections, has no greater dangers than the liberal tendency to find the divine in every little human virtue. But its dangers seem equally great. What can be done with this kind of doctrine was clearly revealed in Germany recently when a group of Lutheran clergymen suggested that it was impious to hope for a social order in which "wages would be commensurate with human needs" since human sin made such justice impossible and since the expectation of it denied "the necessity of Christ's salvation."

Here religious absolutism which begins by making the conscience sensitive to all human weakness ends in complacency toward social injustice. The selfishness of privileged groups who are trying desperately to prevent the organization of a social order in which all men will have basic security is confusedly identified with human selfishness in general, and the workers are told that they must suffer from injustice as punishment for the sins of mankind. The harassed unemployed may well express their scorn for these theological subtleties and insist that they are at least entitled to a world in which all men suffer equally from the consequences of human sin.

The new emphasis upon the natural law in Barthianism as a method of holding the sinful world in check is a revival of the doctrine of the natural law which has characterized Christian orthodoxy until the rise of modern liberalism. Liberalism erroneously imagined that the law of love could be made authoritative for the world of politics and economics and it thereby merely substituted unconscious compromise for conscious compromise. Perhaps there is nothing more important in the ethical reorientation of modern Christianity than a new study of the doctrine of natural law. Love perfectionism is clearly no specific guide for the detailed problems which arise in human society. No society has ever existed without some degree of coercion and it is better to recognize that fact than to obscure the realities with idealistic phrases which permit privileged people to benefit from covert coercion while they stand in abhorrence of the overt resistance of the underprivileged.

Aids of Reaction

On the necessity of coercion, men like Brunner and Gogarten speak with clarity and persuasiveness. But on the whole the doctrine works out completely to the advantage of political and economic reaction. In Gogarten this is obviously true. In Brunner the reactionary tendency is less marked but nevertheless real. First of all, the state is given a new emphasis. It is the instrument which God uses to hold a sinful world in check. All the epigones of Barthianism are using that doctrine to justify the efforts to establish a state absolutism in Germany under Hitler.

Brunner is more circumspect. But his pessimism about human society finally drives him into the camp of reaction in spite of his avowed socialism. He thinks capitalism ought to be destroyed. But since any political order is better than no order at all, and since the state is a "dyke" against the final consequences of sin and since any effort to remodel the dyke might possibly result in an inundation of the world in sin, it follows that the Christian can countenance change only if it can be achieved without interruption *(Pausenlos)*. Brunner presses that point so strongly that one does not see how a Christian can possibly countenance adequate measures of social change, since no conceivable method can be guaranteed to achieve its goal without some social dislocations and convulsions.

Conscious or Unconscious Conservatism

Without being unfair to Brunner one must come to the conclusion that a genuine religious absolutism is unconsciously compounded in his social theory with the fears which a bourgeois world harbors of the consequences of a revolution. If we are to have a new theory of natural law we ought at least to have one which will justify necessary coercion in favor of a new social order as much as in favor of the status quo. With the possible exception of Barth himself, who refuses to permit the premature application of his theology to any political problems, the other Barthian thinkers are either consciously adjusting themselves to political reaction (as in the case of Gogarten) or they are being appropriated for that purpose by their lesser disciples.

As one who bears a few wounds from doing battle

XUM

against a complacent liberalism, I must confess that this appropriation of Barthian thought by reaction almost persuades me to return to the liberal camp as a repentant prodigal. Fortunately there are alternatives which make it unnecessary to embrace liberal illusions for the sake of avoiding orthodox confusions. One must not make the mistake of ascribing Hitlerism to Barthian theology. Barth himself is one of its most determined foes. But Hitler's type of reactionary politics, including his anti-semitism, finds altogether too much abettance in this new theology to justify the confident prediction of some European theologians that they have found a way of extricating the Christian church from its too intimate relationship with capitalistic civilization into which liberal Christianity supposedly enmeshed it. Rather than escaping from this slavery, too many of the alleged emancipators have turned out to be minions of the oppressor.

Bigger and Better Peasant Wars!

By Arthur E. Holt

THE WORLD will probably see in the next twenty-five years more "peasant wars" than it has ever before witnessed in the same period of time. In some countries these will be such as we now have in India, where the villager strikes at the social order by a program of non-cooperation with an urban controled world economy. In some he will join with other dissatisfied groups and the landlord-oppressed areas will revolt as they have in China. In some he will join with the small village traders and form the backbone of a fascist revolt as he has in Germany. In some he will strike with economic and political weapons as he is now doing in the United States under the leadership of the farmer-holiday movement. The revolt of the farmer against a "trader controled" economy is worldwide.

Causes of the Farmer's Plight

Now no interpretation of this "farmer-peasant revolt" is farther from the truth than to attribute it to the farmer's truculence or conservatism or his desire to perpetuate an inefficient system. In general the farmer knows as much about farming as the banker knows about banking; he knows almost as much about farming as the broker knows about "breaking" or whatever it is that we pay the broker to do for us. The farmer has not wasted the resources of the soil as badly as the timber men have wasted the resources of the forest. He has been a better steward of the land than the oil men have been of the resources under the land. He has made the products of the land more abundant than factory workers have made the products of the factory. The farmer is in revolt because he has his eye on this absolute fact: *No one has devised an economy which in its basic assumptions or in its outworking places agricultural work on a parity with other necessary functions in society.*

The tricks which our trader economy have played on the general public have been rather simple and very effective. The industrialist, who has had a working alliance with the money-lending economy, has bargained across two bargaining counters. Across one he has bargained for labor. During most of the last century New England industry was working women, men, boys, and girls in the factories and the working day varied from ten to sixteen hours a day. The device for breaking the bargaining power of labor was multiplication of competition among laborers. When two laboring men stood at the gate bargaining for one job the advantage was all on the side of the factory owner. New labor saving machinery increased the men at the city gate.

Industry Bargains with Labor

Not content with this, however, societies were chartered for the importation of laborers from abroad who were furnished to the factories at so much per head. When labor driven to desperation organized under the Knights of St. Crispin, Chinese labor was imported into New England factories. Part of the justification offered was that the employer compelled them to go to Sunday school and they would be effective missionaries when they returned to China.

In the meantime, industry was limiting its own competition by high tariff walls and the organization of corporate organizations which now hold a large share of the corporate wealth of the United States. The laboring men of Massachusetts described it as a scheme whereby they had "voted for protection to American industry at the suggestion of the rich manufacturers who owned the protected products, thinking to help ourselves, but now we find that, under the scheme of protection, capital is to get the protection and American labor is to be reduced to the standard of rice and rats."

Bargaining with the Farmer

But American industry bargained across another bargaining counter for the raw materials from the farm. Here again the formula was essentially the same as that applied to labor. From the farmer they bought wheat, corn, and cotton. To him they sold machinery and the finished goods of the factory. Industrialists now joined in a policy of "scarcity for the products of industry" and a policy of "abundance" for agricultural products. In this policy they were ultimately joined by factory labor. The great plants which handled agricultural products consistently worked toward a program of controled scarcity. They formed combinations for themselves which on a nation wide

XUM

scale effectively did away with competition. The meat packing, milling, and sugar industries limited competition among themselves at the bargaining counter. They told the farmer that he must vote for the tariff to protect our infant industries against the world market. A tariff which protects the farmer to any great degree has yet to be devised.

The industrialists encouraged every move of the government to stimulate increase of production on the part of the farmer. For a long time in every bank in the middle west posters were on display telling how to make two bushels of corn grow where one grew before. Railroads hurried people on to the land because railroads must have traffic. Republican administrations encouraged homestead projects and reclamation projects until there were five bushels of wheat going to the bargaining counter where there was only a market for one.

The Tariff and the Civil War

Labor in the factory sought to solve its problem by going on to the land. In 1845, the laborers of this country, hard pressed by the competition of machinery and foreign labor, met in New York and issued the following declaration:

> Are you an American citizen? Then you are a joint owner of the public lands. Why not take enough of your property to provide yourself a home? Why not vote yourself a farm?
>
> Are you tired of slavery, or drudging for others—of poverty and its attendant miseries? Then vote yourself a farm.
>
> Are you a man? Then assert the sacred rights of man—especially your right to stand upon God's earth and to till it for your own profit. Vote yourself a farm.

Thousands and hundreds of thousands heard the call of the "free soilers." They flowed out over the Mississippi valley in such a pilgrimage as had not been seen since the children of Israel left Egypt. They multiplied agricultural production until farm products were fit only for fuel and the misery of the homesteader matched the misery of the eastern factory worker.

In the meantime eastern industrialists had steadily devised a tariff which was an "abomination" to the agricultural interests of the south. The tension between the two was complicated by the issue of slavery in which the agricultural south was caught in an indefensible position. The war came on and was won with the small farmer of the west fighting the larger farmer of the south over the issue of free labor on the plantations of the south. War always leaves its holdover of non-cooperative emotions. From the civil war to the present day the small farmer of the south has neutralized the vote of the small farmer of the north to the advantage of the industrial east. The burden of slavery was taken from the back of the black man and laid on the back of the American farmer.

Labor along with capital now perfected its social philosophy of "scarcity." Limitation of apprentices, shorter hours in the day and fewer days in the week, higher wages were all a part of a campaign to win back from capital the advantage which capital had taken from labor. Horace Greeley put a new halo around the protective tariff; this time it was to be "for the sake of labor." Industrial leaders basked in the sanctity of the new concern for the laboring man. Mark Hanna and Samuel Gompers held a war dance around the "full dinner pail" and the farmer revolt of the 'nineties was beaten into the ground.

Effect of the World War

The industrial and money lending forces led us into the world war to protect issues in foreign areas which they thought important. These issues were camouflaged under such slogans as "A war to end war" and "Saving the world for democracy." Industrial leaders made millions. At the same time we fixed the price of wheat lest the farmer should make too much. We emerged from this war as we had emerged from all others, industrial end foremost. Tariff and monetary policies were again set by the industrial east which took billions of dollars in buying power out of the hands of the agricultural west and south and placed it at the disposal of seven northeastern states. Labor and capital were both pushing their philosophy of "scarcity." To redress the economic balance a policy of protection was offered for American agriculture; but a republican president vetoed the bill.

The depression, partly due to the inability of American farmers to buy goods, came on and shocked the people into a partial condition of thoughtfulness. Foreign markets were lost and the nation turned to the agricultural hinterlands as a possible substitute. Even the presidents of the chambers of commerce said that there must be a new deal for agriculture.

When the "New Deal" finally arrived it had accepted a social philosophy of scarcity for industry and urban labor. Nothing had disturbed the tariffs, patents and combinations by which industry operated its economy of scarcity. Labor perfected its economy of scarcity by demanding shorter hours, fewer days in the week, and higher wages. Child labor went out of the picture. Urban liberals applauded; the price of what the farmer had to buy began to rise.

Farmers Under the New Deal

In the meantime a department of agriculture, accepting the fact that capital and labor had been improving their condition by operating under a philosophy of scarcity, determined to bring agriculture under the same philosophy. Recognizing that for twenty-five years the government had been stimulating the farmer to produce, while industry and labor cheered, it seemed natural that the same government might help the farmer to reduce his surplus which perpetually destroyed his bargaining power. Corn, cotton and hog reduction programs were proposed and administered. Immediately from capital, labor and the urban liberals there went up a cry to the heavens against such an uneconomic, unchristian "economy of scarcity." For the first time in the history of fifty years it became an immoral procedure!

Labor had reduced production and secured government aid in shutting off competition from abroad in the form of foreign immigration. Industry had had the

XUM

benefit of tariff subsidies ten times as high as were ever proposed in payment of any crop reduction plan. But when the secretary of agriculture proposed to increase the farmer's bargaining power by a restriction of agricultural production, the president of the University of Wisconsin accused him of trying to "legislate in a famine" and won the enthusiastic cheers of "big business" which had asked him to sound the keynote at their "Century of Progress" convention. The urban liberals who had fought, bled and died for shorter hours and higher wages for labor were shocked to the very depths of their sensitive souls.

Justice Before Peace

Now it ought to be increasingly clear that we cannot operate one-half of this nation as an economy of scarcity and another half as an economy morally obligated to produce an abundance without any regard to its portion in the national system of privileges. We probably need peace in all world communities but before there can be peace there must be justice. As a preliminary to peace we need young ministers who will write and teach rural people to sing songs like the following which breathes the spirit of class conscious revolt:

Men of the soil! We have labored unending,
We have fed the world upon the grain that we have grown,
Now with the star of the new day ascending,
Giants of the earth, at last we rise to claim our own.
Justice throughout the land,
Happiness as God has planned,
Who is there denies our right to reap where we have sown?

Men of the soil! Now the torch we have lighted,
Kindles fire in every land where rings the harvest song.
Shoulder to shoulder in courage united,
From every race we come to join the tiller's mighty throng.
Earth ne'er shall eat again,
Bread gained through blood of men,
We have sworn to right forevermore the ancient wrong.

Sons of the soil! We are coming in judgment,
To tell the world till justice rules there is no liberty.
We in our strength are arising as prophets,
Marching on to show the world the dawn that is to be.
There's a lightning in the sky,
There's a thunder shouting high,
We will never stop until the sons of men are free.

VERSE

"Next Time"

THE order flies; what if we rush ahead
With eager shout of welcoming and cheer,
And loyal clasp of fellowship—instead
Of deadly gas, and bombs that maim and sear—
"Next time"?

A million men! in faith united there—
Friends, comrades, brothers. If we must die,
O masters, come and take us! But beware!
Our ghosts shall rise and rend you where we lie—
"Next time."

LAURA SIMMONS.

The Lonely Christ

THE many now had left Him, melting fast
As trembling courtiers from a fallen king;
But were there none beside Him at the last
To whom His love could cling?

Twelve men that night were left; He ate with them
And pledged the Victor's feast; then led the way
Through moonlit alleys of Jerusalem
Across the brook to pray.

One He had lost; the others wearied slept;
With no man by His side the Lord fought on.
They fled into the night; and He was swept
From court to court alone.

Through solitary ways to peopled lands;
By desert paths into a city-throng;
Silent He went alone, that pilgrim-bands
Might follow Him with song.

EDWARD SHILLITO.

The Ultimate

I SING the glory of the going on
And claim last things are best. The swan
Sings only once and dies. The setting sun
Incarnadines the sky; the sun at dawn
Is timorous and pale. October's skies
Are bluest and her trees alone are gold.
Not passion's short-wicked flame that flares and dies
Is love. Love grows and deepens and is old.
The peace that Age wears on her prescient face
Is richer beauty than the smile of Youth.
That last is best in all God's world I trace
And know the everlasting, unknown truth
That death is good, if it comes soon or late.
I sing the glory of the ultimate.

MARGARET LANDRUM WATKINS.

Sadist Child

YOUNG Mars threw out his brawny chest,
Grabbed his helmet, hummed a tune,
Called for his tight-linked silver vest
And hung his battle-axe on the moon.

"Oh, little earth," the sadist said,
"Your restlessness has spoiled my sleep;
A million puny ant-men dead
Will still your stirrings while you weep."

And so an ugly rumbling thunder
Told of the promise kept by Mars
Who, having righted earth's sad blunder,
Returned to pluck the wings from stars!

SEYMOUR GORDDEN LINK.

XUM

JUNE SURVEY OF BOOKS

Which Way and How Far?

SOCIAL CHANGE AND THE NEW DEAL. *Edited by William F. Ogburn. University of Chicago Press, $1.00.*

ALL who wish to know just what the new deal has done to prices, wages, production, and so forth, how it has affected employment, labor organization, working conditions, what relation it has to education, whether its trends are toward capitalism or communism, where it is succeeding or failing, will welcome this book. Whoever tries to view the new deal dispassionately, apart from party loyalties and personalities, with a minimum of emotion and an eye to scientific conclusions, should study these surveys of recovery and reconstruction in 1933 written by social scientists. This is the annual "study of the social changes of the preceding year" published in May by the editors of the American Journal of Sociology.

No one upon reading this book will dash into the street cheering or cursing. It is not the business of science to create emotion. No republican will be "converted." No democrats will shout "Eureka." The social scientist is as cautious as the physician in reporting on the recovery of his patient. Nor must we expect categorical answers to the complex problems involved in the new deal. When the editor proposes to indicate "how far we shall have to go to get back where we were," one recalls the difficulty which Einstein has in describing curved space. These twelve writers, however, are not restricted by any curved-space conception of social progress.

Certain measurements can be made and certain trends discovered in this complex play of forces. "Net changes during the year probably modified but slightly the distorted income structure of 1933." Wages increased but hours of working decreased, leaving the balance about the same. Real wages decreased slightly. The farmer's dollar has increased from 50 to 59; his tax slightly decreased; his gross income slightly increased. Frances Perkins writes that one-eighth of all families in the United States were on relief at a cost of nearly $800,000,000. The administration of relief is improving. The public works program to date has had little effect on employment. Labor associations have gained in prestige.

Education has met with reverses. Two hundred thousand teachers are unemployed and one out of three works for less than the "blanket code" minimum set for unskilled labor. Henry Pratt Fairchild of New York university is critical of the NRA as a pattern for economic reconstruction "as it perpetuates the conflict relation in industry, and is predicated upon the continuance of the profit motive." It is based upon traditional economics. Politically the NRA offers more hope, for it manifests a new concern for the individual and acknowledges governmental responsibility for maintaining "the good life of the people." Dr. Fairchild prophesies an inevitable conflict between President Roosevelt's political liberalism and his economic conservatism.

The general conclusion is that we are headed for economic planning, the nature of which is likely to be a political issue of importance in the future. Progress to date is meager when measured by income or wages, but the social trends are important and probably permanent. According to R. M. MacIver of Columbia, "the advance of the state into new areas of economic control, coinciding with its retreat from a domain of moralistic control, represents the growth of a new social philosophy."

A careful reading of this survey should be a good antidote for anti-brain-trusters. The evidence is strong that expert knowledge is really no handicap in public affairs. However, if the expert would be of greatest service in social progress, he will need to display a more creative approach to our needs, gathering up his findings as accurately as possible and using them as a basis for directing the future trends. Analyses and criticisms are valuable as guide posts, but they do not furnish the motive power or ideology for reconstruction.

CHARLES GERLINGER.

A First Word from Rome

THE INEVITABLE CROSS. *By W. E. Orchard. E. P. Dutton & Co., $2.50.*

"THE LONELIEST preacher in Christendom" is not so lonely as he was when the phrase was applied to him. Having taken the decisive step which he so long had pondered, W. E. Orchard writes this treatise on the atonement from within the sacred precincts of the Roman Catholic church. The book bears the imprimatur of his ecclesiastical superiors, even though all but its final chapter were written before he went to Rome.

But although he has been united with some of his brethren, Mr. Orchard realizes that the distance between him and his Protestant brethren has widened. His heart feels "as if all the tragedy of a divided Christendom rested upon it only heavier day by day." But this burden, if it will inspire him to labor more creatively in behalf of the return of Protestants to the fold, will, he feels, be abundantly justified.

Such a statement is bound to put Protestants on the defensive. But they must not, on this account, view this book lightly. Its substance merits careful and unprejudiced study. Here is a weighty and balanced presentation of the atonement, a presentation which expounds and defends the traditional theory that Christ gave his life a ransom for many, for the remission of sins; but which portrays no outraged, angry God who can be satisfied only by the shedding of blood. Those who feel that the cross of traditional theology has emphasized too much the matter of individual, as over against social redemption, will find this word reassuring: "If anyone attempts to read this book in bed I hope he will feel he must get up and put his boots on." A strong social note recurs again and again.

Sin, the author declares, rendered the cross inevitable. Subjectively, it was compelled by the desire of man to kill the divine life within him and thus relieve the tension brought to bear upon a divided personality. Because Christ objectively manifested that divine life in its fulness, he provoked an envy and fear which conspired to bring about his death. Although he did not deliberately seek the cross, the quality of his life rendered Calvary inescapable; and, by the way in which he met it, he created a means of saving grace.

Christ did not die as a substitute for man, but in behalf of man. Assuming a sin which defined the lowest depths of human depravity, he reshaped it in the fire of a spirit wholly absorbed in love, and thus changed an act of appalling sinfulness into a beautiful declaration of divine forgiveness. Thus Christ made it impossible for God's will in behalf of man to find free expression. "God's wrath is nothing more than his essential and unalterable opposition to anything contrary to his nature or in conflict with his purposes." And "the death of Christ made the way open for the entire taking away of sin: as a human fact, by altering its effect; as guilt resting upon the conscience, by giving a pledge of its perfect forgiveness; as a bondage barring us from returning to God, by breaking its power over the will.

XUM

For Christ not only bore sin, but so bore it that, for all who accept him and what he has done, he bore away its power and its stain."

The saving power of the cross, though available to man, is not manifested in such a way as to yield, in terms of life, a practical antinomianism. Acceptance of the cross does not allow the sinner to continue his sinful life in the assurance that he can have his sins periodically forgiven. True acceptance of the cross demands an inward change, a vital new life in Christ which can only be acquired through faith. This faith, in turn, can only be developed and maintained by constant devotional exercises, by mystical union with Christ.

But is the saving power of the cross available to those outside the Roman Catholic church? Mr. Orchard does not ask this question, but every Protestant reader will. The author does say this: "It is complete union with Christ which is essential to salvation." Later on he makes this statement: "It needs to be pointed out . . . that the Catholic church teaches that union with Christ can be accomplished by love, and that there can be spiritual communion with Christ apart from sacramental communion." On the basis of these statements, salvation is available to Protestants as well as to Catholics, for surely Mr. Orchard must admit that, if spiritual union with Christ is possible apart from sacramental communion, then the benefits of the cross are available to those outside the Catholic church. One doubts, however, whether the author can make such an admission.

But apart from this consideration, "The Inevitable Cross" has a message which is important enough to warrant devout attention. It is one of the finest presentations of the traditional theory of the atonement this reviewer has ever read. Those liberals who preach a God who is little more than an ambiguous abstraction, and who are now laboring under the banner of an idealism which seems impossible of achievement on the basis of purely human power, will find here a message which cannot fail to be a challenge.

CORNELIUS MUILENBURG.

Archeology and Orthodoxy

NEW BIBLE EVIDENCE. *By Sir Charles Marston. Fleming H. Revell Company, $2.00.*

ENTHUSIASTIC confusion of archaeological data does not wholly conceal the meritorious aspects of this treatise. The reader will get a lively summary of the Jericho excavations and a digest of Garstang's theories of earthquake and the date of the Exodus as presented in his "Foundations of Biblical History." The description of the Gaza and Ras Shamra excavations are equally interesting. The author has raked industriously and his gleanings are suggestive, readable and at points helpful.

Sir Charles is frankly defending the Bible. He is opposed to critics; discredits oral tradition; rejects the theory of the developmental character of Israel's religion; assumes a primitive monotheism; supports Garstang's exodus date, about 1400 B.C., as against the often accepted 1200 B.C.; belittles Canaanite culture and any possible syncretistic Yahwehism; and delightfully differentiates between professors and ordinary mortal sense! The terms "recent writers," "contenders," and "modern commentators" frequently occur, unaccompanied by footnotes to indicate sources.

The naiveté of the writer is unbounded. For instance, spiritualism illuminates the contact of Bible characters with the Unseen; David probably practiced automatic writing, (1 Chron. 28:19); prophecy is related to second sight; the date of Solomon's temple might be secured from the Masons; Sumerians were Hamites; Manetho lived nearer the Hyksos than modern critics, hence is more dependable; the ark rested on Ararat, hence the Anatolian origin of near east races, (Speiser's work not mentioned); the geography of Ai is accurate, so the account must have been written at the time, (as though a later Palestinian could not know the locale); libraries of tablets have been found written in cuneiform "and other scripts"; the derivation of *Jehovah* from the Hebrew words *Yahweh* plus *Adonai* was a "remarkable conclusion" of Prof. Langdon of Oxford, verified by the Ras Shamra tablets, (Langdon himself would certainly deny any such originality of conclusion); the Hebrew sabbath and Babylonian *sabattum* were the same (wholly discredited by Clay, Pinches, Rogers, or by a perusal of the cuneiform texts).

The identification of the Amurru (Amorites) with "laborers" unable to have originated the Hebrew language and literature totally ignores the researches of Clay and known cuneiform evidence, one bit of which lies upon the reviewer's desk this moment. Amurru was a geographical term; Amoritic culture was varied. Then to differentiate Semites from Canaanites and Amorites, as though they were of different stock, is ethnic chaos. As well try to dissociate Swedes and Scandinavians!

Back of this volume is enthusiasm and sincerity, but the author has been overwhelmed by a wealth of discovery and detail relatively new to him. These undigested data are marshalled in defense of a Bible text contemporaneous with the events, and Moses as the molder of near east culture. Sprengling on the alphabet is ridiculed; Speiser's "Mesopotamian Origins," Clay's researches, Lods, Albright, Fisher, Vincent, Badè, and others closely associated with Palestinian archaeology are used little or not at all. The chief values are the descriptions of certain excavations and the Garstang summary.

CARL SUMNER KNOPF.

The Cult of Ballyhoo

OUR MASTER'S VOICE: ADVERTISING. *By James Rorty. The John Day Company, $3.00.*

THE high school freshman daughter of a friend of mine received her first invitation to a dance recently. It proved an event of cosmic importance to the youngster. I was hardly surprised, therefore, to hear that on the afternoon when final preparations were in order she slipped down to the nearest drug store and bought a bottle of Listerine. Those of us who have read "Your Money's Worth" by Stuart Chase and F. J. Schlink or the Schlink and Kallet guinea pig book may get a laugh out of that. We know that even if her best friend hadn't told her, it was by no means certain that gargling with this particular mouthwash would keep her from landing among the wallflowers. But, after all, how much more free from the domination of the advertisement writer are the rest of us? Why do I use Mennen's shaving cream, and reject all others with scorn? Why does my wife insist on Palmolive soap and sniff when I tell her that Ivory smells pure? Who among us is free from the thralldom of the advertising pages?

We are slaves to the ad man's ballyhoo. We know it is ballyhoo; we don't believe it; we laugh at it or snarl at it, depending on the mood of the moment—but we buy. That is the vital point; we buy. Mr. Rorty tells how we buy and why we buy. He takes the whole advertising racket to pieces, considers it historically, psychologically, sociologically and reportorially, and in so doing he shows what makes it tick as not even the Messrs. Chase, Schlink and Kallet have shown. The chances are that he does it so completely and competently because he is doing what the police would call an "inside job." He writes out of almost twenty years of experience as an advertising copywriter; a job which he says any bright young man can master in three days, but which carried him into good pay in that fabulous

XUM

organization headed by the practitioner extraordinary who discovered that Jesus was an advertising man.

For the greater part, the book makes hilarious or enthralling reading. To be sure, there are stretches in which Mr. Rorty feels it necessary to try to emulate his avowed master, Thorstein Veblen, in philosophizing on his material, and in many of those such profundity as he attains is at the expense of lucidity. There is a chapter analyzing the contents, both editorial and advertising, of a dozen magazines, which Mr. Rorty says was written by someone else, and which certainly adds little or nothing (except sixty pages) to the worth of the book. There's a soliloquy or two which show that Mr. Rorty knows his Joyce, but which might well have been left to Mrs. Leopold Bloom. But the rest of the book—and that means at least three hundred out of its four hundred pages—is a joy to read. American satire has produced nothing better than the description of the Primrose Cheese campaign. If reason, or sound economics, or social value had any ruling relation to the advertising business, that single chapter in Rorty's book should be enough to laugh the whole thing out of existence.

To what conclusion does Mr. Rorty come? That advertising will go out of business (as Professor Tugwell is charged with desiring) or will mend its ways (as the truth-in-advertising sloganeers preach)? Neither. Given the competitive, profit-seeking system, says Mr. Rorty, and advertising will inevitably be the same blatant, irresponsible, amoral collection of boasts, lies, half-lies and half-truths that it is today. Why? Because that's the sort of stuff that sells goods, and selling goods is the test of successful advertising. For that reason, the idea of truth-in-advertising is even more wildly fantastic than the idea that you could keep a competitive industrial system running without any advertising at all. Short of a different order of society, advertising must remain what it is, only becoming more so, of course, under the spur of discovering new species of "selling punch" to replace those which have ceased "to click."

There is one other conclusion in the Rorty book which is perhaps even more sobering. Advertising must go on as it is: "Figure out what they want, promise 'em everything, and blow hard." But the advertising writer can't stay in the business, Mr. Rorty believes, without losing his immortal soul. It is a profession of the damned, and the mark of their damnation is placed upon them when they begin to believe—as most of them do—in the lies which they are themselves concocting. No incident in the book deserves more reflection than the remark of an advertising executive at the time of the resignation of one of his highly paid writers: "Miss ——, you are an able person and a good worker. In my judgment you have only one fault. You are not loyal to the things you don't believe in."

PAUL HUTCHINSON.

Courage for the Cautious

DARE TO LIVE. *By Gerald Breitigam. Falcon Press, $2.00.*

THE PRESUPPOSITION of this book is an uncharted sea. A world accustomed to an economy of want finds it necessary to adjust itself to an economy of abundance. The machinery that has created for us this economy of abundance has seemed to some to be a curse instead of a blessing. The very abundance it has created has been described as burdensome. The problems of the new order are essentially different from those of the old. The problem of the race from the dawn of time until the machine age has been survival. With the coming of the machine the problem is now the art of living. The author optimistically believes that "we now watch the birth throes of . . . earth's first genuine civilization." The leisure necessary for abundant living is for the first time possible for the masses. The test imposed on our intelligence is to evolve a "pattern for living." Thus human life is on the threshold of realizing its divine best.

The author thus approaches the problems of the new day with the assumption that the problems are soluble and that our mental and moral resources are adequate for the new demands made upon them. He proceeds to evolve what seems to him to be a "pattern for living" in these difficult days.

The basic figure in this pattern is our own personality, compounded of self-mastery and self-expression, into an authentic individuality. Certain principles of pattern-making are recognized, such as the law of universality or the golden rule in morals, the necessity for a predominance of the conservative colors of common ordinary virtues such as courage, honesty and decency, and the blending of our own personality in harmony with the background of other personalities around us. It involves a knowledge of ourselves, a proper equipment of health, training, energy and purpose to enable us to construct a symmetrical and harmonious pattern. The book ends on a major note of confidence and optimism and a challenge to *dare to live!*

The author is the feature editor of the New York World-Telegram. His style, outlook and philosophy are those of the journalist. He tells us the book was written to fulfill a contract, much as a journalist produces a feature article for a newspaper, it seems. One need not be surprised then if one finds it a rather commonplace combination of trite and threadbare ideas dressed up in a few new trappings and decorated with a few personal anecdotes of more or less pertinency and interest.

J. S. PLOUGHE.

God and Mammon

THREE ESSAYS ON AMERICA. *By Van Wyck Brooks. E. P. Dutton & Co., $3.00.*

THE AVERAGE thinking individual in this country, if he uses his mental powers at all, finds nothing but bewilderment. If he faces his problems realistically, he discovers chaos of the mind—his mind and the minds of others. It is a well-known fact that we are a race of people befuddled, sometimes beaten and always bewildered. Some force a blind patriotism upon themselves, some adopt a Coué-like method of optimism, some blame themselves for lack of faith, lack of mental discipline, lack of mental energy, but all are bewildered. We are a race of people with a great supply of energy both physical, mental and emotional and there is much creative ability, much talent in America. But somehow these things never reach their full development. They are always nipped in the bud. Only a very few men can stand up and force the development of their own personalities or maintain their individualism. There are many explanations for this futility of mental and personal development, and Van Wyck Brooks' explanation is merely another explanation. But it is perhaps the most reasonable of all. His explanation for all our difficulties is a quality of the American mind.

In spite of the foreign influences, as they come to us from abroad and from the foreigner in America, the Puritan idea is a firm foundation. That idea is double. In other words, as its theology was dual, so its American idea was dual. The Puritan had high religious ideals but his Calvinistic theology allowed for another idea—not an ideal—to motivate business. Business was separate from religion. That is obvious. But this idea has grown in America. Two cultural streams flowed from it. On the one side we have a mass of theory, baccalaureate sermonizing, spread-eagle oratory, religion and Rotarian sentimentality. On the other we have a practice of business, of society, that is not related at all to the ideal or to the theory. Literature and art in all their forms have no touch with reality. The two

XUM

streams turn off into what is called high-brow and low-brow and there is no reconciliation between the two. Writers, before Whitman and after him, lived on plains of thought far away from the people, and the people liked these writers because they did not interfere with their pioneering laissez faire. But the solid thought of Benjamin Franklin as opposed to the theoretical intellectuality of Jonathan Edwards grew into the minds of the people. With Walt Whitman there came a "precipitate," a sort of chemical action, that brought the world of theory into closer contact with life.

So it is that American culture is no culture at all, simply because it is divided between two worlds, the objective and the subjective, the theoretical and practical, the religious and commercial. Whitman did more to bring all of these into line with reality than any other American thinker.

In these three essays Mr. Brooks traces the development of the American dualism through Hawthorne, Whittier, Lowell, Whitman and Dreiser. He shows the loneliness of the artist in this country. He talks of the lack of leaders here who will place the true development of being above the accumulation of wealth. He maintains always, and harps on it continually (and well he should!), that American thought, at its base, is determined by the crazy commercialism of the nation and, at the top, fogged (not brightened) by the sentimental idealism of the people. We can only go back to the Christian leaders who criticized America for its worship of the golden calf. Most present-day critics speak disparagingly of our commercialism, but this writer not only disparages it but explains how it has made us a mass of bewildered neurotics, how it has made men either other-worldly by force or worldly by choice, and has never brought any man into the hold of life absolutely single in thought.

RAYMOND KRESENSKY.

Not the Whole Truth

THE VATICAN: YESTERDAY, TODAY AND TOMORROW. *By George Seldes. Harper & Brothers, $3.75.*

AS A JOURNALIST famous for his indiscretions and for his frank disclosure of truths embarrassing to those in high place, as one who is rather proud of having, at various times, been put out of Italy, Russia, Rumania and Fiume, and as the author of "You Can't Print That," in which he did print what were said to be the unprintable facts about the war, Mr. Seldes might have been expected to do some choice revealing when he set himself the spacious task of telling all about the policies and the administration of the Roman Catholic church. Nothing of the kind. Scandal-hounds need not waste their money or their time on this book. It may be that his extended researches discovered nothing meriting even the mildest expression of disapproval; or it may be that this time when they told him "you can't print that" he believed it. At any rate he prints no word that would be displeasing to the most sensitive Roman taste. No *verbum non gratum* is admitted. Mr. Michael Williams, of Commonweal, approves the book (in the blurb on the jacket) as "free from a propagandist spirit either for or against the Catholic church." That is true. It is also free from the critical spirit.

For example: Speaking of the Vatican's yesterdays, nothing is said of the Avignon popes except that there were "saints" among them. The renaissance popes were preoccupied with the "deliverance of Italy." The inquisition and the holy office receive a heavy coat of whitewash. Three pages are devoted to the orgies of the "black mass" and the sorceries and other psychiatric phenomena connected therewith, and the beneficent work of the holy office in suppressing these decadent and abnormal phenomena of negative religion, but there is no hint of any abuses or cruelty in connection with the functioning of the holy office and the other disciplinary agencies in relation to these fantastic miscreants, or the thousands of "witches" who were done to death, or the admittedly innocent Waldensians. "The pope always wins," says Mr. Seldes. And how! But he does not consider it part of his story to tell how.

Within the limits which he has consciously or unconsciously imposed upon himself, the author does a good piece of reporting. His book is filled with curious and interesting information not easily accessible elsewhere. There is much small talk and anecdote about the personal habits and daily routine of popes, and about the "secrets of the conclave," and much important factual material about the financial administration of the Vatican, the diplomacy of the church in connection with the war and with recent events in Mexico, Italy, France and other countries, the Lateran pacts, the Index librorum prohibitorum, the organization of the curia, the rota and the dissolution of marriages, and many other interesting topics.

In his discussion of "Americanism" and Governor Smith's replies to Mr. Marshall, the author arrives at the conclusion that "American Catholicism" has developed into something quite distinctive and widely different from the Catholicism expressed in the documents which have emanated from Rome and the policies which the Vatican has pursued through all the yesterdays and is pursuing even today. In holding this opinion, I think he is quite wrong. What he means to convey, perhaps, is that the temper and the attitudes of many American Catholics are very different from those of the Roman hierarchy, and that the pronouncements of the Vatican, past or present, cannot be taken as representing exactly the frame of mind of the average intelligent American Catholic. This is unquestionably true. What he overlooks is the fact that the Roman Catholic church, considered as a ruling body, does not consist of the people who are members of it but of the hierarchy headed by the pope.

For the historical data included in his treatment, Mr. Seldes has leaned heavily on "Le Vatican et le Monde Moderne," by Georges London and Ch. Pichon, published in Paris last year. The plan of getting all his historical material from a single source and leaving it without much documentation has saved him a world of trouble and may serve to explain, though it can scarcely justify, some of his omissions. It has also left the author free to devote his eminent reportorial talents to the contemporary aspects of his theme. In assembling this material he has been both diligent and expert. His book tells the truth and nothing but the truth, but it does not tell the whole truth.

W. E. GARRISON.

Armaments and Arrows

IRON, BLOOD AND PROFITS. *By George Seldes. Harper and Brothers, $2.50.*

ONCE upon a time there was a Sioux Indian arrow-maker who discovered that if you ripped the steel hoops from a barrel of firewater, that steel could be filed into very superior tips for arrows. Whereupon, a Great Idea smote him. Making up a few samples, he straightway journeyed to the council tents of the Crows, the ancient enemies of the Sioux. He explained to the Crows that they were in very great danger; the Sioux were soon to attack them in force. "Pooh!" replied the Crows—or words to that effect—"one Crow can lick a dozen Sioux any day!" "Maybe," responded the arrow-maker. "But the Sioux are equipping themselves with these highly improved arrows. What chance will you have against them with your obsolete stone-tipped arrows?"

So the Crows placed a large order for steel-tipped arrows. Armed with this order, the arrow-maker was able to go back to his own council-fires and persuade his own tribesmen that the Crows were getting ready for battle, and that they would

XUM

carry into the fray his markedly superior product. Whereupon, the Sioux also placed a large order for steel-tipped arrows.

The sequel is also interesting. The Crows bought a second order; the Sioux did the same. Third orders followed. After a while, the inevitable war came along, and many hundreds of Sioux and Crow braves died, pierced by the very finest quality steel-tipped arrows. And the arrow-maker was very wealthy indeed. As he smoked his pipe in the quiet of his wickiup, he often reflected on the Mysterious Ways in which Manitou the Almighty controls the affairs of men and tribes.

Well—that's the picture of the international armaments manufacturers. It is all here in the book; but no amount of recital, no detailed documentation of undisputed fact, can make it easy for the reader to grasp the picture, or to believe it after he has managed to grasp it. He may at last come to see that French makers of guns and explosives, during the world war, actually sold to the enemies of France the instruments with which to blow to bits thousands of French boys. He may at last come to see that German steel mills turned out tons and tons of barbed wire and sold this wire to England and France —during the war—so that at Verdun thousands of German boys writhed in torture upon it until death released them. He may at last come to believe what is the truth about Briey and Dombasle, namely, that there was pressure applied from some unnamed higher authority upon the governmental and army heads of both Germany and France, so that the Briey steel mills —in full view of the French—were not bombed or shelled, while the Dombasle works—in full view of the Germans—were not bombed or shelled; the point being that each side was willing to prolong the war indefinitely, and sacrifice any number of men, rather than cripple the works and profits of the munitions makers. I say, the reader may at last come to believe all this, when the documentary proof is spread before him. But I doubt if he is able to grasp the picture which he may unwillingly believe. I doubt if its implications reach him. I doubt if the human brain can take in anything so refined in its hellishness, so exquisite in its avarice, so callous in its greed.

And these men who head the munitions firms? Surely, they must be somewhat less than human; their teeth must protrude like Mr. Hyde's; their foreheads must be low; they must be incapable of articulate speech, so that they move among their fellows like bull apes, snarling and slavering, red-eyed and bloodlustful. Ah, that's what the reader cannot grasp. These men are not bull apes; they are barons and dukes and lords; they are members of parliament and of the house of deputies; they are wearers of every decoration that can possibly be bestowed by grateful peoples. They are tender toward children and the weak; they love music and flowers; they are patrons of the arts.

For you see, after the Sioux arrow-maker had become rich through the sale of steel arrow-heads impartially to friend and foe at great profits, he didn't know how to get out of the industry. His profits depended upon making and selling more and better steel arrow-heads. To do this, his salesmen had to stir up war after war; otherwise, many rising young arrow-makers would have been thrown out of work. A few visionary Sioux and Crows did, indeed, propose that the manufacture and sale of steel arrow-heads be taken out of private industry and turned over to the government of the tribes; but these visionaries, being of the people, had neither the influence nor the wealth to make themselves heard, and so were ignored.

So Basil Zaharoff raises orchids in his old age, and no doubt ponders the mysterious ways of divine providence. And Francois de Wendel—whose family name is not de Wendel but von Wendel when you move it from France to Germany—reads the news of Hitler's activities in Germany in the papers he owns, and no doubt forgets the fact that he financed Hitler's political campaign, as he looks ahead to the profits that are sure to roll in when his beloved France, armed like Germany with guns bought from the de Wendels and von Wendels, will once more defend her sacred honor on the field of battle. And Sir Herbert Lawrence, honored of the king, moving among his titled associates, no doubt is too busy keeping disarmament conferences from getting anywhere to worry much about the matter of how much a man is worth more than a dividend. And Eugene Schneider, French to the marrow of his bones, can at least share one element of internationalism with the pacifists and visionaries who would take armaments out of private manufacture and governments out of the armaments race: he doesn't care whether he sells to friend or foe, so long as the profits continue. To that extent he is international. Perhaps that explains why he supported Hitler, and then used Hitler as a war-scare to persuade France to make large purchases of Schneider armaments. He's a kindly gentleman, mild and amiable and sympathetic.

George Seldes, the author of this book, is a veteran war correspondent, reporter and author. He has been kicked out of a dozen or more modern Sioux tribes by the arrow-makers on account of the things he has written about them. This book is more than documentation, more than muckraking. It is a gripping and convincing story.

CHARLES STAFFORD BROWN.

In Praise of Groupism

WHAT IS THE OXFORD GROUP? *Oxford University Press, $1.25.*

A BOOK on the Oxford groups which adds to one's knowledge of the groups nothing not already communicated more intelligently and effectively by other volumes familiar to the reading world. The anonymous author is fervently group-conscious, very fond of capital letters, devoted to abstractions, hot with convictions whose validity he has not succeeded in making clear, hating "sin" but still unaware of our collective sins. The book has some pungent criticisms of contemporary life and, of course, lifts before the mind of the reader the four group standards—absolute honesty, absolute purity, absolute unselfishness, absolute love. If there is anyone who can be helped by impassioned affirmation, he will be interested in this book. But those who must have "a reason for the faith that is within them," will have to look elsewhere.

ALBERT E. DAY.

The Farmer and His Religion

THE LARGER PARISH—A MOVEMENT OR AN ENTHUSIASM? *By Edmund deS. Brunner. The Institute of Social and Religious Research, 50 cents.*

COMPLYING with numerous requests the Institute of Social and Religious Research has made a study of the larger parish, a cooperative movement which in recent years has come into vogue among some rural churches. This volume edited by Dr. Brunner contains the results of this survey.

The investigator concludes that the larger parish enterprise is "the only movement at present which has any sense of vitality and mission in solving the rural church problem." This new movement (or enthusiasm) has made some striking contributions, such as increasing church membership, raising the proportion of active members, organizing subsidiary groups within the parish areas, presenting a program that appeals to young people, lengthening the tenure of ministers who are directors of parishes, providing a better trained leadership and a specialized ministry especially in religious education. There are instances in which the larger parish has met with success in serving districts where all other efforts have resulted in failure.

XUM

On the other hand, "it seems entirely safe to say that well over half of the parishes organized have ended in failure." The main reason for failure is that the larger parish areas so frequently violate sound sociological principles. Other reasons for failure are urban-rural differences, faulty administration, friction, financial difficulties, failure to enlist lay support, and disregard for denominational traditions and practices. Unless the parish movement recognizes these faults the future is not bright.

Nor are there as many larger parishes as commonly supposed. Denominational officials have estimated that there are at least 400 in the United States. Exhaustive inquiry discovered but 197. Of these, 117 replied to questionnaires and 33 reported dissolution. The remaining 84 were studied.

Perhaps the greatest value of this booklet is to serve as a warning to the overanxious and superficial organizers who insist upon lumping several churches into an arbitrary unit with a director in charge and making it a larger parish by pasting on the label. Dr. Brunner insists that the larger parish must be defined. He performs a valuable service in setting up nine standards to be met by an association of churches before it can be called a larger parish. However, it appears to the reviewer that he has drawn some of the margins too narrow. Matters of denominational support and centralization of finances are a concern of technology and can hardly be classed as criteria of principles. I would say that there are three tests which can be used to determine whether an association is a larger parish. These are, Is the parish area sociologically sound? Does the parish offer a diversified ministry? Is there a determination to be cooperative?

There are minor points at which one takes exception or would like to have the author go into more detail. At the very outset the statement is made that "more speeches have been made and pamphlets written about the larger parishes than there are larger parishes." Such words should be substantiated by giving the readers (many of whom are searching far and wide for satisfactory literature) a bibliography. Professor Brunner writes that the larger parish idea appeals to the "bigger and better philosophy of America" and that people will accept it. He errs on the side of optimism. Sound larger parishes do not come into being so easily.

One would like to know more about what the larger parishes are doing to create a new parish consciousness, what is the philosophy of the young men leading the movement, and more of the unique features of programs that are being carried out on an area basis. Nevertheless, this is by far the best literary contribution to the larger parish movement and should be read by every individual interested in rural progress.

MARK RICH.

More Names Than Insight

AMERICA'S RECOVERY PROGRAM. *By A. A. Berle, jr., John Dickinson, A. H. Onthank, Leo Pasvolsky, Alexander Sachs, Herbert J. Tily, Willard L. Thorp, Rexford G. Tugwell and Leo Wolman. Oxford University Press, $2.00.*

HERE'S another of those books that are a lot more important-looking on the title page than on the pages which follow. Advertised as a treatise by "members of the Brain Trust . . . on the policies and ideas of the present administration," what the book actually is is a collection of speeches delivered before the students of Swarthmore college. And like all such symposia, it is of very uneven quality. Dr. Tugwell contributes a good outline of the policy of the agriculture department, although in very general terms. (If Dr. Wirt should pick up the book he might be interested to find this new quotation from Tugwell, on page 52: "There is . . . a good deal of evidence that industry will not reemploy all those now idle unless there are some rather radical changes in our machinery for the distribution of industrial income.") There is a scholarly study of the NRA by Alexander Sachs, who was once chief of the division of economic research and planning, and who denies that there is as yet any planning in it. But none of the other papers is of more than passing interest. Dr. Pasvolsky, of the Brookings institution, spoke well on American monetary policy, but his contribution, which was delivered early last November, was rendered considerably out of date by acts of congress and the President, as a footnote admits, before the collected speeches could be published. Curiously enough, the speeches do not seem to have proved convincing to the immediate audience that heard them. At least, the three members of the economics department at Swarthmore who prepared the book for the press open it with an introduction in which they say that this defense of the administration's policy—if it can be called a defense—didn't convince *them*.

P. H.

The Terror that Flieth by Night

THE AIR MENACE AND THE ANSWER. *By Elvira Fradkin; introduction by James T. Shotwell. The Macmillan Company $3.00.*

THOUGHT is always in terms of the past. When, not so long ago, the late William James was writing about proposals to end warfare he felt constrained to seek "a moral equivalent for war," although the best he could think of, if I remember rightly, was the sort of labor service that Herr Hitler is now demanding from German youth. But we still think of war in terms of personal combat and personal heroism, not realizing how episodic personal heroism and man-to-man fighting has become. Mrs. Fradkin's book ought to bring our thoughts about war up to the minute. Certainly she shows that we do not need a moral equivalent for modern warfare. What would be the moral equivalent of letting loose diseased rats in an enemy territory?

That is just one of the seriously discussed war devices. Others, of course, include the use of a whole series of gases. As fast as gas masks are invented which hold back mustard gas or Lewisite, or chlorine, a new combination is invented which penetrates them. Then, these gases as well as high powered bombs are thrown from the air. Invention in this realm goes on apace, but there are limits to its power: you cannot, for instance, perfect a method of throwing bombs that will insure their hitting ammunition dumps, power stations, barracks, and not hitting hospitals or concentrations of civilians.

The modern militarist accepts that limitation, however, and is content to overlook the distinction: his job is to paralyze enemy resistance and he argues that if he can do it in a day by wiping out a city or two, he will shorten the war, therefore save lives in the end, and perhaps get a Nobel peace prize as a result.

Mrs. Fradkin has listed all the known methods of modern warfare, told us just what each gas will do, and has then shown us how these gases will be used, how commercial aviation, a boon in peace time, means military aviation at an hour's notice. Install a bomb rack, and your commercial or pleasure plane is all ready to take the field.

Her main point, hammered home again and again, is that with the most chivalric intentions on the part of the military, these methods of warfare cannot be restricted to fighting zones and military objectives.

The big city is always going to be the point of attack. Civilians will catch the brunt of it. A gas-mask for everybody and a dugout or cellar for everybody is a pipe dream, literally impossible of accomplishment. For instance, to avoid seepage of gases into the cellars they would have to be equipped with ven-

XUM

tilating shafts fifty feet high—and these would not stand long against a bomb attack.

The fact that chemical industries and aviation are part of the regular industry of a nation means that they cannot be crippled in peace time. But the moment war is declared they can be turned into war weapons. Every factory of cosmetics or photographic films is a potential war gas factory. Hence the only safeguard against war is international control of what will be its main agency in the future: commercial aviation. That means of course not only "moral disarmament"—the abolishment of nationalistic propaganda—but some international control, either by the League of Nations or by a similar agency under another name if Americans never get over their hysterical fear of the league.

Mrs. Fradkin indulges in no oratory and in no "scare" material. Her accounts of poison gases and of air fighting are taken from official sources, American and European. And the advances in chemical warfare technique are such that her data, factual today, will be behind the facts tomorrow.

There is an ironic side to her thesis: everybody admits now that offensive wars are bad. But we need an army and navy for defense. Militarism, that is to say, is invoked as the best protector of peace. But Mrs. Fradkin shows us that militarism has developed so well in attack by air and with poison gas, has so changed its objective—which is now the big city—that defense is impossible. Like the mastodon, therefore, militarism has outgrown its environment and is due to perish. But if we are not to perish also, we must say goodbye to our petty nationalisms and begin to build international controls.

LLEWELLYN JONES.

Lucifer Hurled from Radio City

PORTRAIT OF AMERICA. *By Diego Rivera. With explanatory text by Bertram D. Wolfe. Covici, Friede. $3.50.*

DIEGO RIVERA is a rare character. He is the stormy petrel who, in Rockefeller Center, painted the famous mural that was never finished. It monopolized the headlines of the front pages of New York newspapers for several days, and has since been destroyed. Instead of silencing this intrepid and irrepressible revolutionist, the Rockefellers drove him into the very arms of their most bitter enemies. With the check thus given him for his rejected work in Radio city, Mr. Rivera went to the New Workers' school, that is to say, the communist headquarters in New York city, and offered to fill their lecture room with paintings depicting the revolutionary characteristics of American history. Aided and abetted by Bertram D. Wolfe, the director of the school, and with the assistance of volunteer artists, the twenty-two murals were completed in about six months. During this time, and since, this shabby, dark and dingy building has become a shrine to which all true radicals will want to make a pilgrimage. Rivera had previously painted murals in Mexico City, Los Angeles, and Detroit; but these twenty-two in New York he considers his greatest and truest achievement. He conceived and executed them under the sponsorship of the proletariat itself while the sting administered by the hated capitalists was still fresh and painful.

Here then was the beginning of the book which the co-authors call the portrait of America. A portrait it truly is. No two men could work together in truer comradeship. One is an artist with hot Spanish blood, bent on revenge, and always a true revolutionary; the other, an historian of no mean ability, a radical teacher of radicals. It was the latter who inspired the former with the idea of depicting on spacious walls, for everyone to see, the violent aspects of American history. Sixty stirring plates in black and white make this a picture book the like of which has never before appeared. The text, treating only incidentally and in biographical fashion of Rivera's earlier paintings, hits its full stride when it narrates the Rockefeller incident and then swings into its explanation of the twenty-two panels.

From first to last we are forced to behold, in bristling themes, the revolutionary characteristics of our history. Panel one depicts colonial America: early settlers arriving, abusing Indians, importing slaves, and cruelly exploiting both. Panel two, the American revolution, carries this theme forward, with rioting, rebellion and bloodshed. Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Paine are the only heroes worthy of mention. Rivera distrusts Jefferson and despises Hamilton. Washington almost passes unnoticed, being edged in near the margin of the picture. The expansionists of the next period, such as Houston, Polk and others of the early middle of the nineteenth century, are the villains of their respective plots. The conflict over slavery and the period of reconstruction sowed the seeds of capitalism, sectionalism and the beginning of our labor disputes. All these were accompanied by violence incredible to most complacent Americans. The other panels are on such subjects as modern industry, the world war, the new freedom, imperialism, the depression, the new deal, fascism, Hitlerism, and, last but not least, world brotherhood, with Lenin in the center uniting all mankind into a classless society.

No amount of commentary can do justice to these murals. The black and white reproductions in this book are excellent, and the accompanying text is illuminating and altogether appropriate. But the murals, to be fully appreciated, must be seen in their bristling Spanish colors and in their original setting. Here is art employed by one of the great geniuses of our day in the unrestrained service of propaganda. No one can behold Rivera's conception of our American portrait without being deeply affected. He does not debunk history, but he emphasizes many bloody events that have made their indelible impress on our traditions. Violence and abuse and race hatred and inhuman exploitation have played their part in the development of our country, and we only deaden our spiritual insight if we ignore this man and cold-shoulder the facts which he literally thrusts into our faces. Every religious leader should read this book and ponder its sixty pictures; and then, on his next visit to New York, ascend the dark, narrow, dingy steps that lead to its most important originals. He will then have an experience he cannot soon forget.

EDWIN T. BUEHRER.

A Defense of Democracy

CRISIS GOVERNMENT. *By Lindsay Rogers. W. W. Norton and Company. $1.75.*

PREVIOUS to 1914 governments everywhere were becoming more representative, but the tendency of the critical twenty years since the war has been away from democracy, until today it is more or less the fad to damn parliamentarianism and look toward some form of government "less dilatory, less compromising and less tolerant." But even if democracy is under a cloud, it is by no means extinct, and it cheers some of us to hear it commended by intelligent people.

It is the opinion of the Burgess professor of public law at Columbia university that government by the people may have grown too quickly and that some countries, because of illiteracy and a host of incompetents, may not be quite ready for it, but if you contrast life in England under autocracy two centuries ago with present day English democracy, you know there is such a thing as marked progress! It is not fair to judge democracy solely where it has failed. "When one considers the problems which confronted certain post-war European states, the amazing thing is that government was carried on at all." The only

place where democracy has broken down is where it has not had a fair trial or where conditions were highly unfavorable.

Fascism or communism may possibly be defended as temporary ways out of unbearable situations, but neither system is ideal. Indeed the very countries that pride themselves upon the fact that they have forsaken representative government might be as well off or better off today if they had tried democracy a little longer.

Parliamentarianism itself is in a process of evolution and that way lies our hope. Emergency government such as we have in Washington today, where President Roosevelt has much more power than any previous President, may simply show when the experiment is over that in that way democracies are becoming more efficient. The executive power is not dictatorship, for there is a constant congressional check on it. Life and its problems are so complex that, especially in times of crisis, parliaments can do little better than lay down general principles. Experts must be consulted, used and entrusted with power as never before, or committees in congresses must become experts themselves. Crisis government in the United States is not as easy as in some countries and much has been accomplished only because of the personality of Mr. Roosevelt.

It is the contention of Professor Rogers that internationally we have no government. Consequently we are all the victims of what should be called international anarchy. It is this international situation that has made Hitler possible and has necessitated other forms of crisis government in other countries. Who can say that international statesmanship might not have prevented Hitler and his regime? As the world recovers economically there will be less political tension and that should make for less economic nationalism. We may not then have effective international agreement, but it will not be needed as much as it is in these days of economic crisis. For days such as these you can have all the advantages that dictatorships advance and not abandon democracy.

This book is not an arid philosophy of government setting forth the advantages of the representative procedure. The author deals with current historical incidents and personalities in order to develop the thesis here given in bare outline. Part of the material in the book was given as three lectures at the University of Virginia in May 1932 on the Page-Barbour foundation. It is one of a series of social action books edited by Alvin Johnson.

HERBERT WINSTON HANSEN.

Charming Crosses

THE CROSS, ITS HISTORY AND SYMBOLISM. *By George Willard Benson. Private Printing, Buffalo, New York, $3.50.*

A CHARMING as well as informing volume about the symbolism of the cross has been given to us by Mr. Benson. Why should a cross be adorned or made charming? Should it not be just plain and stark, a severe reminder of a terrible event? So one feels in looking on the illustrations of altar crosses, pectoral crosses, processional crosses and many others that are overly elegant or too richly set with jewels or inlays of mother of pearl. Yet the Celtic crosses convey a mystical meaning beyond that readily seen in the plain forms, as of a brave life that has caught up into itself and mastered the tragical. And the patriarchal cross of the Eastern church, with its extra arm representing the inscription, is a peculiarly appealing shape, a more monumental and full-bodied composition suggesting a complex experience and thought. Many others also in similar manner amply justify the liberties of their decoration and varieties of form. The eighteen pages of pictures and ten drawings in the book show forth these things. There are accounts of primitive and pagan crosses, legends of the cross, and of the many uses and meanings of the cross as a Christian symbol.

Those who cannot longer use the cross as a symbol of atonement may still use it as a general Christian sign and as a call to sacrifice. Moreover, perhaps most important of all, a cross in a church speaks to all, saying, Here is a place where you may not enjoy the goods of life until you have faced its evils and taken an account of them in your own purposes.

OGDEN VOGT.

The Quaker Faith at its Best

THE TRAIL OF LIFE IN THE MIDDLE YEARS. *By Rufus M. Jones. The Macmillan Company, $2.00.*

RUFUS JONES is the object of our envy. Born among those select spirits, the Quakers, blessed during his student days with the friendship of such "tall men" as Josiah Royce, G. H. Palmer, William James, George Santayana, F. G. Peabody and President Eliot; for forty years editor of the Friends' Review, an editorship that brought him many enriching contacts and friendships in this country and England; teacher and confidant of college men throughout those forty years; a welcome preacher at colleges all over the country—all this forms a richly tapestried background for a singularly fruitful life.

The book before us continues the story told in the two former books, "Finding the Trail of Life," and "The Trail of Life in College." Reluctantly however, our pen moves to record that in one respect this book is disappointing. It does not live up to the alluring promise of its title and theme. It is not sufficiently autobiographical! It is more particularly a swift review of the changes in religious thought in the period of these "middle years." Also, considering the autobiographical nature of the book it devotes too many precious pages to doctrinal views, to theology, psychology and philosophy, while an intimate, human fact like marriage is given a sentence or two. If it be said that this is due to a sensitive, reticent spirit, then the reply is that autobiography and reticence do not go well together.

Nevertheless, the book is freighted with interest. The author's gracious spirit pervades its pages. The middle years of which he writes are from thirty-five to fifty, and cover the period beginning with 1894. At that time a new day in religion was coming to birth. The new scientific views and the critical study of the Bible were changing men's outlook. In America, as Dr. Jones shows, the attitude to these changes was most timid. Among the Quakers as well as other religious groups there was a large conservative element which viewed with alarm and fought with bitterness the invading tides.

In 1893 Dr. Jones assumed the editorship of the Friends' Review, and now as editor, teacher and preacher he began his "reconciling" mission. The spirit he put into that work created a like spirit among his audiences. "Wherever I went I felt a breath of love and affection meet me." True to the traditions of the Friends he has "no faith that any victories of the spirit are won by assault and counter-assault, but rather by affirmation and gentle method of approach." It is the old story of the wind and the sun.

But Quaker though he is, Rufus Jones shows that he has a doughty quality: "I had rather be battling desperately for the truth not yet won than to be the dull and sleepy guardian of an ancestral heritage of truth . . . inherited from generation to generation without cost or labor or peril."

He sought to show to the four prevailing types of Quakers that Quakerism is a *movement* and not a *sect*, and much of the work of the years seems to have centered in that mission of reinterpretation. The religion which he has so consistently de-

XUM

fined and so richly lived as "a direct and immediate discovery of God as the deeper environment of the soul," as "an inward experience," and "a vital intercourse with God," seems to one man at least the kind of religion which this blundering, distracted age most sorely needs. The spirit of Rufus Jones' life and the message of this book may be gathered up in these beautiful, self-revealing words:

"Here was a mysticism—and it was the type to which I dedicated my life—which sought no ecstasies, no miracles of levitation, no startling phenomena, no private raptures, but whose overmastering passion was to turn all (one) possessed, including his own life, 'into the channel of universal love.'"

LEONARD A. PARR.

Realities that Elude Science

REALITY AND ILLUSION. *By Richard Rothschild. Harcourt, Brace and Company, $3.50.*

PHILOSOPHICAL realism of that type which recognizes as real only those things which can be measured quantitatively, and which rules out as unreal and illusory all those entities which cannot be conceived in terms of the categories which belong to the realm of the physical sciences, is here subjected to a critical examination and evaluation. The author writes in a clear and interesting manner. His language is comparatively free of those technical terms and phrases which make so many philosophical discussions unintelligible to the average layman. He is competent in the field of philosophy; he is well informed concerning the recent developments in the various fields of which he writes; and, above all, he is able to keep himself sufficiently detached from any one particular interest or field of knowledge so that he can view it in the light of a comprehensive whole which includes all of the meaningful experiences that go to make up human life. It is not only a book that will be of interest to students of philosophy, but laymen who are trying to find an interpretation of life and the world which will give meaning to their moral and religious experiences without denying the facts of science will be able to read it with interest and profit.

The author is convinced, as many others have been, that the findings of the physical scientists do not exhaust the meaning of reality. These findings do have their place in the world of meanings, but they are not everything. The realms of morality, religion, art and politics belong to reality just as truly as does the science of physics. To construct in outline a system of philosophy in which each of these fields will have a legitimate place and in which each one will serve as a key to the world's meaning is the major objective of this book. "No fact of knowledge," the author tells us, "may be conceived as atomically isolated from all other facts of knowledge. Each perception, each conception, is possible only against a background involving the totality of the individual's previous experiences as organized into the unity of his own self. Accordingly reason must always be taken to involve an element we have called 'insight,' whereby the unique experience of the moment is infused with relational meaning. It is this aspect of each perception which makes it significant, 'valuable.' And the outstanding obscurantism of our day lies in the attempt to belittle this insight element, while modifying the importance of the isolated data of research on the one hand and the passionately championed but unintegrated special doctrines of politics, art, and religion on the other."

The book is divided into seven sections. The first one, on "Esthetics," is the longest and, in the judgment of the reviewer, the best one. In it the author deals with many aspects of the problem of knowledge. His analysis of the "hard and fast" world of the so-called realist is very well done. He deals not only with sense preception but with the claims of the rationalist and also the mystic. He shows clearly the limitations of both rationalism and mysticism but carefully conserves the values of both. The second section, "Ethics," contains a discussion of the free-will question, leading up to a doctrine of self-determination which provides for the truths of determinism without sacrificing the sense of freedom and individual responsibility. In the third section, entitled "Religion," discussing the attack which is being made upon religion by certain contemporary writers, he shows clearly enough that prejudice and bias have not been confined to those who are called defenders of the faith. The remaining sections of the book deal with "Art," "Politics," "The Exact Sciences," and "The Quest for Happiness."

Obviously a book which tries to weave into one system so wide a range of interests will leave many questions unanswered and many problems unsolved. As a system of metaphysics it leaves many gaps and one wishes that one might ask the author a lot of questions. But the person who reads this book will have his mind stimulated along many lines and will be grateful for the attempt which has been made to interpret the world from the point of view of those experiences which are most meaningful in human life.

CHARLES H. PATTERSON.

New Religious Dramas

PRIZE MONEY. *By Louis Wilson. Walter H. Baker Company, Boston. Price, 35 cents. Royalty, $5.00.*

THIS one-act play centers around the story of a farm woman who has won a prize for a cake recipe. Overburdened with poverty and work, and a clod of a husband, she has made up her mind to spend this money for a trip to Chicago, which, oddly enough, represents not only an escape from drudgery but a fling at beauty. Then, as fate will have it, her husband brings home an invalid relative, Uncle Pete, to be cared for. The wife is rebellious but accepts her duty, only to find that she has entertained an angel unawares. For Uncle Pete is an artist, as well as a noble soul. He brings to her the beauty for which her soul is starved, and along with the beauty an understanding which gives her new courage. It is an appealing story, and the character revelations of Uncle Pete and Sadie Jones give it religious value as well as dramatic power. The cast requires two men, two women, and a girl. It is a strong play for church or school.

SUNRISE. *By Louis Wilson. Walter H. Baker Company. Price, 35 cents. Royalty, $3.00.*

Mr. Wilson has sought in this one-act play to show the conflict of the spirit and method of Jesus with the spirit and method of militarism. The conflict takes place in the heart of a young captain of the Roman army. He has come under the influence of Jesus and as a result his life of soldiering has become an empty and revolting thing. His commanding officer, the father of his sweetheart, tries to bring him to his senses. To remain loyal to Jesus and to desert the Roman army means death for the young captain, but it also means victory, and in the end he chooses that road. The cast requires three men and two women. Both this play and "Prize Money," because of their combination of dramatic and religious values, have been selected by the Religious Drama guild for inclusion in its approved list of religious dramas.

THE SEPARATIST. *By Mary Hamlin. Samuel French, New York. Price, 35 cents. Royalty, $5.00.*

Mrs. Hamlin, known wherever religious dramas are produced for her strong biblical plays, "He Came Seeing" and "The Rock," here turns to the creation of a biographical one-

XUM

act drama about William Brewster, the leader of the Pilgrims. She reveals him as a happy and affectionate personality, as well as a great pioneer and executive, whose life has been built upon the certainty of God's care and guidance. Brewster demands real liberty, and in this comes into sharp opposition with the Puritan party which stands for reform instead of freedom. The conflict rises steadily to a climax until the last minute of action when Brewster is warned by his best friend that to go on with his project of leading the Pilgrims to a new country across the sea will only end in throwing his life away to rot in a dungeon, while his wife and little ones and the other Pilgrims come to disaster. Brewster prays, and comes out of his prayer with the conviction that it is God's will for him to lead the Pilgrim band to America. While the play lacks something of the swift movement and emotional force of "He Came Seeing," it is a solid and lasting contribution to religious and biographical drama. The cast requires five men and three women.

THE SUMMONING OF THE NATIONS. *By Elisabeth Woodbridge Morris. Samuel French, New York. Price, 35 cents. No royalty.*

As Bliss Perry says in the foreword, this pageant "in picturesque and dramatic verses interprets in brief, vivid phrases the finer spirit of each nation of the earth." The author has constructed it so that it offers a wide range of possible methods of presentation, from a "simple reading by a single person to a gorgeous pageant using hundreds of people in full national costume with national choruses." The reader, the Spirit of History, recites the contribution which each nation has made toward the beauty and knowledge and strength of the present world. The standard-bearers of the nations present themselves before the reader in proper sequence, and the chorus sings each national anthem in turn until all the nations have been honored. And then in a grand climax they unite in singing the new "Hymn for the Nations," written by Josephine Daskam Bacon and set to the rhythm of Beethoven's "Ode to Joy." There can be no quarrel with the idealism or the beauty or the skillful arrangement of this pageant of nations. But one cannot refrain from the observation that as he turns from the pageant to the daily newspapers, he finds these nations not singing hymns of appreciation of one another's virtues, but arming themselves to kill off each other's youth.

FRED EASTMAN.

Books in Brief

THE SINGING HEART, *Selected Lyrics and other Poems. By Clinton Scollard. Edited, with a memoir, by Jessie Rittenhouse. The Macmillan Company, $2.50.*

Two years ago Clinton Scollard died, too soon, in his early seventies. He had taught English several years in Hamilton college and had written six not unsuccessful novels before he decided that the one thing for him to do, in the field of letters, was to write poetry. He wrote much, and it was always good —tuneful, graceful, sensitive, sometimes stirring, nearly always lyrical. It was always acceptable—I imagine he received as few rejection slips as any poet who wrote so much—but it never took the world by storm. If there was justice as well as modesty in his description of himself as a "minor poet," he proved how sound may be the craftsmanship and how companionable the verse of one who lays no claim to towering genius or dazzling originality.

THREE PLAYS: THE GARBAGE MAN, AIRWAYS, INC., AND FORTUNE HEIGHTS. *By John Dos Passos. Harcourt, Brace & Company, $2.50.*

The first two were produced in 1926 and 1929, the first as "The Moon Is a Gong." The last will be staged this year. In all three Dos Passos applies to drama the style which he uses, and which he had a large part in creating, for fiction—a style staccato and discontinuous, in which the successive speeches and episodes are often apparently as unrelated as the ingredients of a vegetable salad, held together only by the bowl. Or perhaps more like the work of the pointillist painters (e.g., La Grande Jatte), for the separate dabs really are held together by something other than the frame. Part of that something is the ardent spirit of a social revolutionary. Whether these plays can be played without confusion, seems doubtful. But when read as dialog-fiction with a flavor of the fantastic but a basis of almost tragically serious purpose, they are profoundly impressive.

RECENT POLITICAL THOUGHT. *By Francis W. Coker. D. Appleton-Century Company, $4.00.*

Yale's director of graduate studies in government here offers a guide for students and serious readers in the political and economic theories of the last hundred years, with emphasis upon the latter part of that period. His first section deals with socialist theories and organizations, beginning with Karl Marx. His second discusses the pros and cons of democracy and the substitutes that are offered for it. His third, organized around the antithesis between the concepts of political authority and individual liberty, considers theories of the state and the state's relation to the economic process, nationalism and militarism, and the fascist and nazi programs of state totalitarianism. Written as a textbook for advanced students, and provided with ample apparatus in the way of notes and bibliographies, it is the kind of textbook which may well serve as the backlog of any thoughtful reader's library in this field.

ALL TRIVIA. *By Logan Pearsall Smith. Harcourt, Brace & Company, $2.00.*

Remember his "On Reading Shakespeare," which was about several things besides reading Shakespeare. These "Trivia" are shorter bits on still more things. Most of them could be written on a cuff; and a cuff so inscribed should be framed rather than laundered. The contents include scintillant half-page essays, and bons mots not too self-consciously treasured, and bits of brightly colored glass which anyone who likes can fit into the pattern of a window and which anyone who does not want to do that may enjoy for their separate sparkle—all the shining and not too consequential fragments of which good conversation is made.

EVANGELS OF REFORM. *By Mortimer Brewster Smith. Round Table Press, $2.50.*

In spite of the slurs of the cynical and the complacent on one side and the jeers of radical revolutionaries on the other, reforming is a decent occupation. An earnest man who devotes his whole time and attention to remedying some particular defect in the social order is within his rights. He may lack the perfect balance of the ideal personality; he may exhibit a distorted sense of values; and he may develop odious and acrimonious qualities to match the stupidities and cruelties that oppose him. But he has a legitimate function. The reformer is a specialist. The author of this volume makes a modest contribution to the understanding of the nature of reform in general and to the defense of the reformer's right to exist, by sketching briefly the lives, work and personalities of nine famous reformers—Savonarola, Fox, Mary Woolstonecraft, Theodore Parker, William Lloyd Garrison, Susan B. Anthony, Annie Besant, Gandhi, and Margaret Sanger.

LITERATURE OF THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE. *By Jefferson Butler Fletcher. The Macmillan Company, $3.00.*

Among the thousands of books that have been written on the Italian renaissance or some phase of it, there was a place re-

served and waiting for this one. The subject seems obvious—the spirit and culture of the renaissance as revealed in its literature, from Dante to Tasso. But if that ground has been covered by any treatment even approaching this in both substance and charm, it has escaped the attention of this reviewer. The book is one that could have been written only by a man who knows a great deal more than he put into it. One senses a long and close intimacy with the materials, and an appreciation which is almost affectionate even while it remains critical. Professor Fletcher, who is professor of comparative literature in Columbia university, has put all students of the renaissance under obligations to him. Readers will remember his translation of Dante which was reviewed in these pages last year.

NEW GOVERNMENTS IN EUROPE. *Edited by Raymond Leslie Buell. Thomas Nelson & Sons, $2.50.*

The staff of the Foreign Policy association, by bringing up to date many of the admirable monographs prepared by that organization and putting them in one book, has produced this handbook on the current state of affairs in Italy, Germany, the Baltic states, Russia and Spain. Taking up each in order, a compact and lucid account is given of the events leading up to recent changes in forms of government, and of the reorganization which has necessarily followed revolution. The result is invaluable to one who would comprehend or comment on contemporary Europe. If the book has a shortcoming it lies in its comparative indifference to the economic situations in the various states. After all, even dictatorships are finally judged by balance sheets.

MY RUSSIAN NEIGHBORS. *By Alexander Wicksteed. Wittlesey House, $1.75.*

Written in admirable temper, with both detachment and insight, Mr. Wicksteed's book will be much more likely to help the outsider toward a real "feel" for the present Russia than many more pretentious volumes. There may be propaganda hidden beneath these good-humored pages, but if it is there it is so well concealed as never to get in the way of the author's intention. That intention is simply to tell what life in Russia has seemed like to one who entered the country as a member of a Quaker relief mission in 1922 and has stayed there ever since —teaching school most of the time—living as an ordinary member of the community. Mr. Wicksteed finds plenty to smile at in the lives of his Russian neighbors, but also plenty to regard with respect, and some things to consider seriously as signposts for the capitalist societies.

THE IDEA OF NATIONAL INTEREST. *By Charles A. Beard. The Macmillan Company, $3.75.*

This is by far the most important book produced by Dr. Beard since his monumental "Rise of American Civilization." Perhaps it is an indication of its importance that its central idea can be expressed briefly. American foreign policy has consisted, according to Dr. Beard's analysis, of a series of acts, demands, formulas and the like made to forward or protect the "national interest." But what is the national interest? The national interest is whatever seems likely to make the most money for the controlling group of American citizens at any given time or under any given set of circumstances. For that reason, the conception of national interest varies widely from one period to another. One generation may insist that the national interest requires taking the Philippines, and the next be equally sure that it necessitates giving them up. In either case, it is the balance sheet—actual or potential—that decides. Find out how the dominant commercial elements think they will profit most, and you will be able to predict foreign policy with certainty. This is a pretty bald way of boiling down the contents of 553 pages, but it is essentially the whole story. The specific and detailed case studies which Dr. Beard introduces—such as, for instance, the story of American relations with Nicaragua—are enormously valuable as contributions to an honest history of the United States.

TRACING OUR ANCESTORS: *Were They Descendants of Apes or of Adam? By Frederick Haberman. The Kingdom Press, St. Petersburg, Fla., $1.75.*

This is an elaboration of the British-Israel theory. The Adamic or white race (Aryan) is separate from and superior to the Mongols and Negroes. The cradle of the Adamites is located by following the description of Eden and its four rivers in Gen. 2. Noah's flood occurred on Nov. 1, B.C. 2345, and lasted until Nov. 11, B.C. 2346, but it covered only the world of the Adamites. The great pyramid is the "gospel in stone." Professor Breasted "merely repeats what he has learned from the German skeptics." The study of British antiquities has been sedulously avoided by archeologists since 1870 for fear of discovering disproofs of the evolutionary origin of man. The Anglo-Saxons are descendants of the lost ten tribes, and therefore heirs of the promise as the chosen people. (Nazi papers please copy.) "The coming of Brutus the Trojan in 1103 B.C. is the first authenticated arrival of a known body of people in England." The coronation stone in Westminster abbey is not only Jacob's pillow but also the stone that Moses smote and the shrine at Bethel. Daniel and the Apocalypse prophesy the emergence of America, with dates. A mystic meaning is drawn from the reverse side of the great seal of the United States—which Secretary Wallace also uses in his recent book and interestingly interprets. Passing over these and a few other details upon which the skeptical may be inclined to ask for a little more evidence, and of a different kind, the reviewer joins hands with the author on his prefatory declaration that escape from our present national dilemma requires a return to the principle of "love thy neighbor"—only he hopes that agreement with the author's reading of history and science is not a prerequisite to that.

ROAMING AMERICAN PLAYGROUNDS. *By John T. Faris. Farrar & Rinehart, $3.00.*

If anyone is so parochial or so prejudiced as to believe that all beauty is concentrated in his favorite area, it will do him good to follow Mr. Faris in his comprehensive survey of the scenic and recreational resources of the United States—its mountains and lakes, forests and parks, fish and game, and other attractions. Naturally, there is not much detailed information about any one thing or place, but there is enough to whet the appetite and to give assurance that one might spend all the vacations of a long life right in this country and never have a dull day and never do the same thing twice.

A BIOGRAPHY OF THE GREEK PEOPLE. *By Cecil Fairfield Lavell. Houghton-Mifflin Company, $3.00.*

This is not a history of Greece, but it is the book that most thoughtful and intellectually inquisitive people have hoped to find, but have not found, when they have resorted to histories of Greece to learn what kind of people the Greeks were and how their minds worked and what were the principal cultural assets that they transmitted to posterity, including us. Neither is it a history of Greek philosophy, or of Greek art. Both of those stories have been competently and more fully told. Rather, it is an account of the character and development of the Greek mind as it expressed itself in a many-sided culture which had roots in a certain geographical area and which was influenced in its unfolding by a course of political events. The author's freedom from conventional standards of valuation may be judged from the fact that he devotes as much space to Orphism as he does to the rise and fall of the Athenian empire, and almost as much to Socrates as to the Persian war. More-

XUM

over, a book about the Greeks misrepresents its subject—no matter how accurate may be its statements—unless it is beautiful. This one is. Dr. Lavell, professor of the history of thought in Grinnell college, gives evidence of scholarship commensurate with his theme, but he also commands a felicity of diction which makes his treatment as delightful as it is informing.

A Primer for Tomorrow. *By Christian Gauss. Charles Scribners' Sons, $2.50.*

From conservative Princeton, where Dr. Gauss is dean of the college, comes a bundle of dynamite. He neither prophesies nor points the way to any "mild recovery" which will get us back where we were in the days of our pride and prosperity and blindness. "Changes of revolutionary importance are impending." They may come gradually and peacefully, or they may come violently, depending on whether we realize in time that they are inevitably coming and meet them in the right spirit. Matters are not going to be set right by merely altering the gold content of the dollar or expanding credit. Capitalism makes wars and nationalism fights them. "Nationalism and capitalism which activated or stimulated us to make such titanic strides (in the past) can no longer spur us on to humanly desirable ends." We face decadence unless we find a new way. "There is still one world to conquer, and only one, the world of what for lack of a better word we must call religion." These are almost the closing words of the book. What goes before indicates that the religion which alone can save us is one which will work a revolution in the ethics of ownership and in the principles controlling all our economic and international relationships. The chapters on "The Disappearance of Sanctions," "The Decline of Religion," "The Threat of Science," "The End of Nationalism," and "The Disintegration of Capitalism" would be pessimistic if it were not for the author's strong conviction that the one way out is a road that humanity not only must but can travel.

The Elder Henry James. *By Austin Warren. The Macmillan Company, $2.50.*

The father of Henry and William James—the novelist who wrote like a psychologist and the psychologist who wrote like a novelist—was himself, if not quite a philosopher, at least a passionate seeker after truth and a thinker who could win the friendship and admiration of his greatest contemporaries. Emerson was his frequent house guest. Thoreau and Alcott were familiar friends. Carlyle and Sterling found him the most interesting American they knew, except of course Emerson. He had long conversations with John Stuart Mill whom he vastly admired, and with Maurice, Tennyson and Browning who, he said, did not talk as well as the average man who sits beside you on a bus in New York. But the workings of his own mind were even more interesting than his contacts with these eminent contemporaries. One may say that he spent his life in a search for God. His earliest enthusiasm was for the writings of the obscure Robert Sandeman; his second, and more enduring, for Swedenborg, of whom he was a devoted but always critical follower. Mr. Warren's thorough study of the elder James not only introduces a worthy character whose deserved reputation has been obscured by that of his greater sons, but throws interesting light upon the better known New England transcendentalists.

George Washington Himself, a Common-Sense Biography written from his Manuscripts. *By John C. Fitzpatrick. Bobbs-Merrill Company, $3.50.*

Dr. Fitzpatrick's claim to have produced the first completely accurate story of Washington has a better foundation than such claims usually have. He has utilized unpublished materials not heretofore used by any historian. As editor of the official bicentennial edition of the Writings of George Washington, he had access to a large mass of neglected letters. But even this exceptional opportunity, backed by adequate industry and scholarship, does not insure a perfectly objective account or guarantee that the author's judgments must stand against all others. He has, indeed, made a strong case against those who would deny to Washington the highest order of military genius. He lays great stress on the Conway cabal, which he considers merely the military aspect of a widely ramifying political intrigue in which the Adamses were the chief villains and which represented the determination of the New England faction to steal the show from Washington and Virginia. This will bear further investigation before it is accepted as the final verdict. Coming to the period of Washington's presidency, to which he devotes relatively little attention, the author is unsparing in his criticism of all Washington's critics. Hamilton is his hero, and he has little good to say of Jefferson. References to "the absurd logic of Jefferson's criticism" of this and his "almost silly critique" of that are not apparently based upon new documentary evidence but are merely expressions of the author's judgment and of his federalist preferences.

The Question Box

There is a denomination which specializes in definite, literalistic interpretation of the apocalyptical scriptures. For some reason the rest of us leave pretty well alone what they make so much of. Why? C. D. M., Minneapolis, Minn.

ONE of the important results of the modern and critical study of the Bible has been the discovery of the nature of apocalyptic writings in the Old and New Testaments. That they differ radically from other portions of the Bible, such as the prophetic, priestly, wisdom, devotional, historical, etc., becomes evident when they are examined in the light of the periods out of which they came. They are tracts for the times in which they were produced. They are not panoramas of future events. They were related to definite crises, particularly periods of persecution such as the effort of Antiochus Epiphanes to overthrow the Jewish worship, which is the theme of the book of Daniel, and the persecution of the Christians in the Roman empire, the theme of the book of Revelation.

These books are of a highly dramatic and picturesque character, and because their interpretation has required some definite knowledge of the circumstances out of which they grew they have frequently been regarded uncritically as among the most important portions of the Bible and as dealing with events down through the history of the church, and particularly with the latter days of the Christian era. Such a reading ignored their local and temporary meaning, and led to fantastic attempts to identify their forms of speech and the incidents to which they referred with events of our own and later times. This has been particularly true of the fundamentalist attitude toward the Bible which exalted the apocalyptic writings to levels of meaning and authority not justified by more scholarly inquiry. Present-day scholarship has largely corrected this uncritical attitude toward these writings and has given them their proper value in the development of biblical literature.

There is a definite cleavage between the two schools of thought in the church. In reality, the most deep-going and important division in the Christian body is not that of denominational alignment but rather that of differing attitudes between fundamentalists and modernists. There are other features to which fundamentalists hold, but their basic commitment is to the literal, and even verbal, inspiration of the scriptures, with the various implications which that tenet involves. Such groups are found in nearly all the denominations in varying numbers. In some they include practically the whole membership, in others they are of lesser and decreasing importance. More careful study of the apocalyptic books has given them their rightful place among the biblical records, but has removed them from the more important categories of prophecy and history. H. L. W.

NEWS *of the* CHRISTIAN WORLD

Baptists Approve Palmer Pledge

Refuse to Merge Mission Societies, but Take Many Other Steps Recommended by Commission of Fifteen

(Special Correspondence)

ROCHESTER, May 27.—Many Baptists approached the meeting of the Northern Baptist convention in Rochester, May 23-28, with misgiving and dread. The theme, they said, is "For such a time as this," and the principal occupation is to be readjustment of denominational machinery suggested in the report of a committee of 15 which for a year past has been diagnosing Baptist ailments and trying to prescribe for them. What an incongruous and futile procedure for Christian people in such challenging and critical days as these!

This misgiving was not lessened by the stirring character of the addresses on the first day by Pres. W. S. Abernethy, Dr. C. W. Kemper of Denver, and Dr. Justin Wroe Nixon of Rochester. The imminence of war, the restoration of the liquor traffic with all its menace, and the industrial revolution were the theme of the brief address of the president of the convention. In each of these the church has a stake. What is it going to do about them? At greater length in the keynote address, Dr. Kemper drove home the implications of a changing order. How shall the church meet the challenges of nationalism, communism, materialism and a discredited capitalism? The Christian church must act, but how? "The church is called upon to perform the most stupendous function in all recorded history, that of motivating education, statecraft, business, industry, economics and social life, that in all these areas the spirit of Jesus may rule."

Dr. Nixon Stirs Convention

Dr. Nixon, who, though he has left the Baptist denomination, has not left the Baptist fellowship, stirred a packed congregation in the great auditorium in the evening with an address on "Protestantism for Such a Time as This." We need every phase of Protestantism in such a time, and Protestants must draw together, as they are doing, forced often by issues of the new day in the manner which the new intellectual influences and the mechanical changes of our time make necessary. "If the Almighty wanted to talk with Elijah today, he would have to make an appointment, and while they talked they would probably be interrupted by the song of the crooner coming in over the radio set with which every room in the new hotel on Mt. Horeb would be equipped." In addition to these changes, western civilization is undergoing one of the greatest economic transitions of its history. "Where the processes of our common life in the past flowed toward individualism they are now flowing toward some form of collectivism." "Capitalism in America has been a good system for accumulating wealth but a rather poor system for distributing it." Under present conditions, "a high level of purchasing power in the hands of the masses is far more necessary to our prosperity than great fortunes in the hands of a few. And capitalism has not yet learned how to throw itself into reverse."

This will serve to show the trend of Dr. Nixon's economic thought. Thence he passed to war, to so large a degree induced by the munition makers, as an element affecting the religious perspective. For no such problem is there a peculiarly Methodist, Presbyterian or Baptist solution. Protestants must put their heads together with respect to war, to church disunity and the fundamental strategy and objectives of their work. The supreme need is a common waiting upon God.

Down to Denominational Mechanics

This sort of thing, reiterated all day, did not make easier the transition, on the second day, to the beggarly elements of denominational mechanics. But the delegates went at it cheerfully, as to a drab task that needed to be done, and it proved to be so absorbing and exacting and protracted that it crowded almost everything else out of the daylight sessions for the next two days. There were certain by-products of the process that were rewarding—evidences of a somewhat newly acquired ability of Baptists to disagree very sharply, without being disagreeable.

What needed to be done, and why? As a visitor to the convention at the height of the discussion inquired, what was all the shooting about?

First as to the why—why anything needed to be changed in the Baptist organizational scheme. Baptist organizations have developed by the classic method of Topsy: they have "just growed." Like Melchizedek, they have had neither father nor mother. Rightly or wrongly—probably wrongly, in an era of collectivism—Baptists are rugged individualists. The local churches are autonomous; that is, they won't take anything from anybody except advice, and they will take very little of that. The so-called societies, home, foreign, city, etc., are the product of the vaunted Baptist principle of "voluntarism." They are associations of individuals, not to say individualists, and are as independent in their turn as is the local church. This is finely democratic, but democracy has its difficulties and weaknesses. It was Emerson who said that democracy is like a raft; unsinkable, it is true, but the passengers' feet are always wet. This voluntary principle does not always make for the highest efficiency. It opens the way for overlapping, overlooking and competition between agencies. For a long time the conviction has been growing that these societies and boards that have grown up in a haphazard way could and should be integrated in some closely knit plan, that would save money, promote unity of effort, and make in general for higher effectiveness. To do this, and at the same time avoid "centralization," which is the bete noir of the Baptist genius, was the difficult task of the commis-

(Continued on page 782)

Assembly Bans Independents

Presbyterians Deny Mission Board Headed by Dr. Machen Right to Solicit Funds—Threaten Discipline

(Special Correspondence)

CLEVELAND, May 28.—The streets of this city have been crowded with religionists for the past ten days. First came the Methodist Episcopal bishops seeking agreement upon their ecclesiastical encyclicals. Before they had folded their tents like the Arab to silently steal away the Mission Workers of America entered the city gates with much hand shaking and many hallelujas. Then, on Thursday morning the clan of Calvin entered with the banner of the general assembly of the saints, otherwise known as the Presbyterian church in the United States of America.

The impact was almost too much for Cleveland. The newsboys sensed the increased weight of their wares and immediately went on a strike. Religious items are heavier than the usual run of the mine. By striking, the boys got the front page and crowded out the prophets.

Will Rogers says that preachers cannot hope to compete with second-hand automobiles and that they may expect crowds in their churches only when it rains. Mr. Rogers ought to see the multitudes flocking to the churches for these conventions. It will take a good rain to stop them.

Meet in Baptist Church

The general assembly is meeting in the Euclid Avenue Baptist church, with an auditorium that seats 2200 people and it has been crowded to capacity many times. The Old Stone (Presbyterian) church on the square is the official host to the assembly which is meeting in Cleveland for the first time since 1875. Dr. A. P. Higley, pastor of Calvary church, is moderator of Old Stone session. Dr. Higley, Rev. Herman A. Klahr, the associate pastor, Dr. Louis F. Ruf, executive of Cleveland presbytery, and Rev. H. H. Hubbell, director of religious education for the presbytery have carried through the plans, assisted by a score of committee chairmen with hundreds of committee men and women.

Had it not been for Dr. Machen and his disciples the assembly would have passed without a ripple, or so it seems thus far. Mrs. Pearl Buck was no longer within the reach of militant commissioners, and how can there be a fight when there are no differences? As the assembly opened, it was suggested that a sign be displayed reading, "Wanted, a causus belli." And then came Friday afternoon, and the war.

Act on Independent Mission Board

It was a costly war, as all wars are. The hours spent in debate on the paper submitted by the general council relative to the Independent mission board cost the church some thousands of dollars in real money. Then, too, in view of the terrific

XUM

needs of men in this hour, the average visitor could not refrain from thinking of a certain Nero who fiddled while Rome burned. Of course the assembly took the proper action. It was known at the start what the result would be. Happily there was no theological slant to the problem. Modernists and fundamentalists fought shoulder to shoulder for the unity of the church.

No Statement from Dr. Machen

There has been no statement from Dr. Machen as to his reaction to the assembly vote that ordered his mission board to "desist forthwith from exercising any ecclesiastical or administrative functions," including solicitation of funds within the churches, and commanded all Presbyterian ministers and laymen connected with the Independent board to sever such connections, under penalty of discipline. But it is hard to believe that so militant a crusader will allow the issue to rest after a single assembly vote.

On Sunday visiting ministers preached in 125 Cleveland churches. The newly elected moderator, Dr. William Chalmers Covert, was in the pulpit of Old Stone. Dr. Mark Matthews spoke in Euclid Avenue Baptist church and the retiring moderator, Dr. John MacDowell, in the First Methodist church.

Today, Monday, the assembly starts down the home stretch. It will require some days to finish the business at hand.

Dr. Christie Brown, of Winona Lake, a visitor to the assembly was in the assembly in Cleveland in 1875. Dr. Morris, of Lane seminary, was the moderator at that time. Dr. Brown preached for his son in Ashtabula Sunday morning.

DON D. TULLIS.

Community Church Workers to Have Official Organ

What is regarded as the most important result of the biennial national conference of the Community Church Workers of the U.S.A., which met in Kansas City May 16-18, was the merger of the Christian with the Community Churchman to form a new paper, the Christian Community. The Christian was the biweekly published in Kansas City, with Burris Jenkins as publisher and Joseph Myers as editor, which began its career primarily as an organ of the Linwood Boulevard Christian church, carrying the sermons of the pastor, Dr. Jenkins. It had developed, in the course of ten years, into an avowed organ of the liberal wing of the Disciples of Christ. The Community Churchman, a monthly, has been published at Park Ridge, Ill., with Orvis F. Jordan, pastor of the Park Ridge Community Church, and a former member of the staff of The Christian Century, as its editor. The new journal will be published biweekly, with Dr. Richard E. Shields, executive secretary of the Community Church Workers, acting as editor. In reviewing this new move Dr. Jordan says: "The Community Church Workers must readjust its program. Its job is fundamentally that of the publicist rather than that of the ecclesiastical organizer. More than 2,000 interdenominational churches are in the field. It is the job of the Community Church Workers to study the experience of these organizations, to assess their success and their failures and to pass on these facts to the American people."

Y.W.C.A. Alters Its Constitution

Trinitarian Requirement Gives Way to New Declaration of Purpose—Dr. Machen Counsels Defiance of Church

(Correspondence from Philadelphia)

PHILADELPHIA, May 22.—The Young Women's Christian association, at its 13th biennial national convention here, strengthened the "C" of its name, it is felt, by making the following simple and liberal declaration of purpose, without the former, formal trinitarian preamble, its new basis of membership: "To build a fellowship of women and girls devoted to the task of realizing in our common life those ideals of personal and social living to which we are committed by our faith as Christians. In this endeavor we seek to understand Jesus, to share his love for all people, and to grow in the knowledge and love of God." Happily, this freshly interpreted emphasis falls upon Christian living and commitment, from widely diversified religious backgrounds, to the responsibility of helping to realize them in contemporary life. Hitherto evangelical church membership was obligatory for all local Y.W.C.A. boards and officials. No longer nationally obligatory, the old requirement, however, may be retained by local associations. One of the convention high spots was the reception for Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, attended by 2,700. "We must preach," said the first lady, "that the old desire to gather profit for the few at the expense of the many is wrong. The churches should be unalterably opposed to its return."

* * *

Tittle Says Western Society Cannot Wait

"The social order remains to be redeemed," Dr. Ernest F. Tittle, of the First Methodist church, Evanston, Ill., insisted in a keynote address. "There are those who believe that all we need is to alter the attitude and ambition of individuals, and the redemption of the world will follow. When you take the position that our need is not for new systems, new programs, but for a new mind, a new heart, there is great rejoicing in every complacent pew. There are those who believe that all we have to do is to alter the political and economic structure of society, and the redemption of individuals will follow. Neither of these contentions is valid. Western society cannot wait many more years for something radically redemptive to occur."

* * *

New Program Includes Revised Social Creed

In the Y.W.C.A. program for 1934-36, both personal and social aims are stressed. Replacing the 1920 statement, the revised formulation of the social ideals of the churches was adopted. Associations will "continue to work for the building of a society nearer to the kingdom of God," by considering adverse social and economic effects, by breaking down barriers in the association fellowship, "by developing a strong public affairs program for improv-

DR. CADMAN WRITES to the Editorial Secretary

DR. S. PARKES CADMAN, Chairman of the Religious Book Club Editorial Committee since 1927, recently wrote to the Secretary:

"Dear Leiper:

"I wonder if the members of the Club realize the continuous personal attention which we of the Editorial Committee give to the choice of books. If only they could see your files of correspondence with the committee or know of the consultations and conferences that lie behind the selection of the winning volumes from month to month!

"But the results are worth it. Especially, as I look over the variety and quality of the supplemental selections, I am impressed with the rich possibilities of the recent recommendations. I should think almost any mental or spiritual appetite should be satisfied by judicious personal choice exercised by members within these wide limits.

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ing the conditions which determine the lives of women and girls."

* * *

Prof. Machen Advises Westminster Graduates Against Pledge

Prof. J. Gresham Machen, president of the Independent board of foreign missions, warned the Westminster theological seminary graduating class against "the temptation to be disloyal." He quoted a letter from the stated clerk of the Presbyterian general assembly to the stated clerk of the Baltimore presbytery: "If and when any students from Westminster seminary come before your presbytery, they should be informed that the presbytery will neither license nor ordain them until they have given a written pledge that they will support the official agencies of the church as a part of their pledge of loyalty to the government and discipline of the church."

"I am conscious of standing here in a very great crisis of the Presbyterian church," Dr. Machen declared. "If you sign the pledge demanded of you in that letter of Dr. Lewis S. Mudge, then, irrespective of whether the boards and agencies are worthy of trust at this moment or at any particular moment, you have become servants of men and are not in the high biblical sense servants of the Lord Jesus Christ. If you promise to adapt your message to shifting majorities in church councils or to the mandates of church officials, if you promise to commend one kind of missions this year and an opposite kind next year, as the general assembly, elected every year, may direct, if you thus take the Bible from your pulpits and place the minutes of the general assembly in its place, then the ministry has become merely a contemptible profession. You may, by taking such a step, obtain high ecclesiastical preferment; but never can you be ministers of the new covenant, never ambassadors of God."

* * *

And So Forth

Only five Baptist churches in the country antedate old Pennepack, celebrating its 245th anniversary. Pastor Robert T. Tumbelson receives a D.D. from the Pennsylvania military college at Chester, his alma mater, where he preaches the baccalaureate sermon.

A merited testimonial dinner was tendered to Pres. Milton G. Evans, of Crozer theological seminary, upon his retirement after 25 years' leadership.

Rev. William B. Stimson, of St. James' church, has been appointed Protestant Episcopal representative on the Christian association staff at the University of Pennsylvania, succeeding Rev. Arthur P. McKenny, who has gone to St. Paul's, New Haven.

The Philadelphia city treasurer sustained the objection of Rev. William B. Forney, of the Lord's Day alliance, and refused a beer license for Shibe park for the American league baseball fans. The Athletics have appealed for a reversal of the treasurer's decision.

Rev. Melville B. Gurley, Oxford groups devotee, has resigned the Market square church pastorate and membership in the Philadelphia presbytery. Planning to enter holy orders in the Protestant Episcopal church, he has been confirmed by Bishop Taitt in Gloria Dei (Old Swedes) church.

CHARLES DANIEL BRODHEAD.

Sees Relief as Political Trick

Mary Van Kleeck Tells Social Workers Politicians Balance Them Off in the Game of Satisfying All Interests

(Special Correspondence)

KANSAS CITY, May 26.—The 61st annual meeting of the National council of social work which closed here today differed essentially from church conventions in two main particulars. First, social lag was not a factor. Second, the social workers faced their problems realistically. Otherwise the social work conference was essentially a religious meeting because it will furnish data for "advanced" clerics to present lagging church conventions and assemblies for years to come.

The most noteworthy accomplishment at the social work meeting was the enthusiastic burial of the word "charity." "Relief" also gradually was anesthetized. The only reason relief temporarily survived the sessions was that the social workers still are realistic. But the conference closed with 4,200 social workers knowing full well that not only is charity dead and well buried but also that relief must be smothered by fundamental social reconstruction.

Miss Van Kleeck Outstanding Figure

In many respects Mary Van Kleeck, of the Russell Sage foundation, was the pivotal figure at the conference. When she spoke the conference listened. This was not only due to Miss Van Kleek's astonishing critical ability, but also because of her position of independency. Responsible for no special pleading, the New York woman charted three possible courses available for social service workers as reconstruction plans are conceived. Two of these courses, she said, directly relate to two conflicting and irreconcilable views of the function of government. The third course, and that advocated by Miss Van Kleek, avoids totalitarian concepts by a margin only wide enough to include such individualistic freedom as may be resident in intelligence and the fine arts.

Among the social workers' illusions of government, Miss Van Kleek said, is that government stands above conflicting interests, and, in a democracy, can be brought, by majority vote, to decide between conflicts and compel standards and policies which are in the public interest. The second illusion is that government is dominated by the strongest economic power and thus becomes the instrument to serve the purposes of the groups possessing that power. The holiness of government ascribed by the former, or transcendent, theory was scoffed at by Miss Van Kleek. Functions of government, she said, are directly involved in conflicts and cannot remain aloof from them.

"The basic conflict of interest between labor and capital is too clear to need any proof here. Our illusions regarding government arise from a refusal to recognize these conflicts. It is assumed that the government is above the struggle and that if our social workers can win the government to their program, they will have done their part in establishing that elusive thing called social justice. The test of whether these are illusions is now being made before our eyes and the unfolding of the relief program is an illustration."

Playing Off Conflicting Interests

"The political administration, wishing to maintain itself in power, must judge accurately where its power lies. It cannot control production or distribution of wealth. It must meet the demand laid upon it to protect property. It wishes, however, to retain the vote of the workers. A clever politician knows that political institutions must be protected against rising discontent of the unemployed and the poorly paid workers."

Thus, Miss Van Kleek argued, the relief program is a test of political leadership's diagnosis of the effectiveness of the demands of those who need relief. Consequently, social workers who administer relief are juggled about to maintain status and power in the three-cornered conflict of interest between those who own and control the economic system; the workers, who are claiming their right to a livelihood in an age of plentiful production, and the government, which has always most closely identified itself with property rights.

In conclusion, Miss Van Kleek contended that the new deal is simply a soupy old deal freshly garnished with alphabetical noodles.

The rhetorical high-light of the week was the address of Dr. Rexford G. Tugwell, assistant secretary of the department of agriculture. Dr. Tugwell's main plea was that the social workers' main task from now on should be that of aiding reconstruction to the extent that gradually they would work themselves out of their jobs.

During most of the week the 2,000 or more federal relief workers at Kansas City were reported by some of their representatives as being apprehensive about their jobs. But their fears were dispelled by Harry Hopkins, federal relief administrator, during an executive session of the federal employes on Thursday. He told the government social workers that their work would be expanded to meet all needs and that interference with their work on the part of "politics" or other agencies would not be tolerated. One county administrator interpreted Mr. Hopkins' speech as meaning that the new deal proposes that eventually government will constitute a social welfare and relief monopoly. This monopoly, he said, would not result from a governmental assault on private and church social welfare agencies, but that the latter eventually would dry up through failure to compete with taxation for the public's philanthropic dollar.

This interpretation was born out in the convention's keynote speech on the opening day by C. M. Bookman, of Cincinnati, who was until a few weeks ago Mr. Hopkins' assistant administrator. "Citizens emergency relief committees with personnel appointed by mayors often at the suggestion of politicians, tag days, charity balls, bread lines, soup kitchens, lawn fetes and other heterogeneous money raising activities for 'charities' have seen their day and are rapidly sinking into the unregretted limbo of the almost forgotten," said Mr. Bookman. He argued that the government is the only agency capable of adequate administration of the social welfare field.

JOHN EVANS.

XUM

Dedicate New Kobe Buildings

Ambassador Makes Exercises at College Occasion for Tribute to Christianity —Insanity on the Increase

(Correspondence from Japan)

TOKYO, May 4.—The dedication ceremonies for the new buildings and grounds of Kobe college for women deserves more space than can be given in this column. Distinguished personages brought messages of congratulation and felicitation, and an entire week was given over to festivities. Certainly of all the words spoken on the occasion none were of more significance than those of the American ambassador to Japan, Joseph Clark Grew. They not only reflect credit upon Kobe college but they reveal much of the character of the man who now represents the United States of America in Tokyo. "Briefly and reverently," said Mr. Grew in his congratulatory address, "let us call to mind the supreme influence in all portions of the world of the ideals confided to us in Galilee nearly 2,000 years ago at the birth of Christianity. For it is this force which has made possible the new buildings of Kobe college that we see before us today. Faith—the founders of the college had this quality in full measure; hope—without this vitalizing gift the vision of the college in the hills of Rokko would never have been born; and charity—the supreme quality of Christian love. . . . It is not only that these buildings will be the home of education; they are also the sanctuary where character will be developed under the guidance of Christian principles, and it is this greatest service which guides us to the highest appreciation of the new buildings which stand here today."

* * *

W.C.T.U. Celebrates 100th Anniversary of Founder

Commemorating the 100th anniversary of the birth of Madam Yajima, its founder, the annual convention of the Japan W.C.T.U. has just been held in Tokyo. Delegates from various parts of the empire numbered 220. Outstanding among the various accomplishments of the past year was the placing of material on temperance education in the 27,000 primary schools of Japan. Plans for the coming year include the presentation again before the diet of a bill proposing prohibition of drinking under the age of 25, cooperation with W.C.T.U. circles in Manchuria which are seeking to keep the Japanese licensed house evil from invading that region, and efforts legally to prevent the rebuilding of licensed quarters in fire-razed Hakodate. The members of the Japanese W.C.T.U. now number 8,239, and it is hoped soon to reach the 10,000 mark.

* * *

Insanity Increase Alarms Nation

An alarming increase in insanity in Japan within the past two decades is engaging the attention of the public authorities. In fact, one vernacular paper reports a twelve-fold increase in 18 years. The problem is especially acute because of lack of adequate facilities and of funds to erect new equipment to care for these victims of the increasingly fierce struggle for existence in Japan.

* * *

Foreign Office Statement Again Reveals Division in Government

The recent "unofficial statement" of the Tokyo foreign office spokesman and all the unfavorable publicity and reaction it has stirred up in those very lands which Foreign Minister Hirota has been seeking to placate in recent months, has revealed even to the Japanese how "divided against itself" is the present government. War Minister Hayashi's proposed resignation may or may not have been directly related to this anomalous situation, but his consent to retain portfolio at the urgent and almost unanimous request of the responsible elements in Japanese public life, including the press, has strengthened the moderate forces in government. So far as the Saito cabinet is concerned one may say that, for the moment, there is more unity of administration than at any other time during its incumbency. But it is no secret that the politicians on the one hand are seeking the cabinet's downfall with the hope of reestablishing strict party control, and that on the other hand, the young nationalist element is continuing agitation for the overthrow of all bourgeois government. Japan's foreign policy can be understood only against the background of these internal issues.

* * *

And So Forth

The "Omi Mission" is no more. The "Omi Brotherhood" is now the name of that excellent example of indigenized missionary service which has grown up around the leadership and personality of William Merrill Vories in Omi-Hachiman, near Kyoto. Beginning with what its founder describes as "the microscopic effort of one foreign teacher and a couple of his pupils," this Christian cooperative mission has now come to embrace 200 workers and supports its evangelistic activities by industrial activities which ramify even into remote corners of the empire.

T. T. BRUMBAUGH.

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The Family Stays in the Old Home

One of the sad sights, after the funeral of a husband and father, is the removal of the widow and children to a smaller home, or to a very modest apartment, or even to a few rooms generously loaned by a sympathetic friend. The story behind this not infrequent occurrence is that the head of the family was uninsured or had allowed his policy to lapse.

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Methodists Weigh Philippine Union

Invitation to Join United Evangelical Church Favored by Bishop—Denomination Weathers Internal Crisis

(Correspondence from the Philippines)

MANILA, April 15.—The Methodist Episcopal church of the Philippine islands has been carefully considering an invitation from the United Evangelical church to join them in forming one strong Protestant group here. The invitation extended by Moderator E. C. Sobrepena in an address at the 27th session of the Methodist annual conference was well received. The United church, organized in 1929, brought together Presbyterians, United Brethren and Congregationalists. Last May minor changes in the confession of faith opened the way for immersionist bodies to enter. The Baptists may do so before long. If the Methodists and Baptists both should enter it would leave the Episcopalians as practically the only Protestant body outside the united church.

* * *

Methodists Easily Adjusted

The United church's plan of organization provides for large unity in cooperative effort without insistence upon uniformity of expression. Methodists, it appears, would find comparatively little reason for change in forms of worship or of internal organization. The general assembly of the United church meets once in two years, delegates attending from local congregations on the basis of one for every five hundred members. The Methodists would have no difficulty in the matter of doctrines or creedal interpretation. Furthermore, the United church does not take the "come and join us and we will make something of you" attitude. Its leaders do not think they have spoken the last word on the indigenous Filipino church. They are open to suggestions and no source promises more fruitful ideas and plans than the well-organized, self-supporting, warmly evangelistic and socially minded Methodist group.

* * *

Bishop Outlines Three Possible Courses

Bishop Edwin F. Lee looks with favor upon such a union as this. Ever since his election to this diocese, Bishop Lee has guided the church wisely and well toward the day when it would stand alone and make its contribution to the Christian life of this part of the world. The bishop outlined three possible courses. He told the conference that it might petition the general conference in 1936 for authority to elect a Filipino bishop and to establish the local church under autonomous direction as has been done in China, India and South America. The Filipino church would enjoy the independent government and would still maintain its relationship with the international organization. The second possibility is the establishment of a Philippine Methodist church on the order of those in Korea, Mexico and Japan. Any relationship with Methodism in other parts of the world would be entirely informal and unofficial. The Filipinos in common with other orientals might ask westerners to serve on their advisory committees and in their councils.

The third proposition, that of joining with the present United church in order to work out an organization better adapted to Filipino needs than any now in existence, appeals to Bishop Lee more strongly than either of the other two possibilities. It aroused enthusiasm in the annual conference. The laymen's meeting passed a resolution suggesting that the Methodists first set up their own independent organization before uniting with the groups already working together. The prospects for a United Church of Christ of the Philippines seem brighter than at any other time in the history of evangelical Christianity here.

* * *

Strength of Methodism In Philippines

The Methodists would bring a large and vigorous group into the membership of the new church. They number 78,815, own 293 church buildings valued at $481,000, have 89 pastors in full conference membership and 23 probationers, and employ 101 deaconesses and 50 Bible women. Devolution so far as missionary personnel is concerned has proceeded rapidly during the last five years. The parent board now has only five families and the women's board 14 single missionaries on the field.

* * *

Methodists Weather Internal Storms

During the past year the church has gone through the type of experience that tests the vitality and poise of any group. At the 1933 annual conference, some members who disagreed with the general conference over a case of discipline withdrew from the church. They immediately applied to the government for incorporation under a title almost identical with the name used by the Methodist church on legal documents for the last 30 years. The government refused incorporation but the schism caused considerable confusion in certain local congregations and some embarrassment for the church as a whole. Litigation over property rights did not help the situation any. The conference statistician reported that a careful check in every district affected showed that 2½ per cent of the total church membership and about 17 per cent of the conference membership withdrew during the year.

In view of all this a disinterested visitor at the 1934 annual conference might have been prepared for bitterness, confusion and indecision. But very little was said to indicate that the church had been having any difficulties. District superintendents omitted from their reports any reference to local troubles. The executive session of the conference had several cases of discipline to decide. The agenda was packed with dynamite. All questions were handled with dispatch, discussed in a fine Christian spirit and decided fairly.

Schisms are not new to religion in the Philippines. Practically every one of the major denominations has experienced one or more splits in the last two decades. Perhaps they indicate growth. But some have caused deep wounds that have taken a long time to heal. It is testimony to the strength and vitality of Methodism here that this defection has had so little effect upon its march forward toward a united, indigenous Filipino church.

E. K. HIGDON.

Wallace Draws Southern Crowds

Secretary of Agriculture Defends Religion as Source of Social Progress —All Summer Meetings Prosper

(Correspondence from the Southeast)

TAMPA, May 21.—Henry A. Wallace, secretary of agriculture, whose frank sentiments along lines of social advance by Christian application and action have stirred many, was the speaker at the University of Georgia, Athens, recently when the institution observed its annual institute of public affairs. Mr. Wallace, whose recent book, "Statesmanship and Religion," is having a wide reading in the south, was heard by one of the largest crowds ever assembled in the sessions of the annual institute. His message was characteristic in its frankness, directness and appreciativeness of the richness and strength of the Christian tradition and the demands of modern society.

* * *

University Receives PWA Loan

The University of Georgia, one of the oldest state universities in the country, will accept a PWA loan of $2,817,400 for additions and improvements for all the institutions embraced in the university system of Georgia. The major portion of this large sum will be spent on the campus of the university in Athens, Ga. The regents of the institution have submitted the terms of the loan to the supreme court for approval before actually beginning work on the projects.

Dormitories, a dining hall and gymnasium-armory are provided for in the construction program. Georgia Tech, Atlanta, will receive the second largest allotment of the funds for campus improvements. The loan is payable in 25 years from 1936.

* * *

Line Forms at The Right

Oglethorpe university, Atlanta, which makes a policy of conferring numerous honorary degrees on the nation's great, will drape colored cowls on ten noted leaders of national affairs at the commencement exercises May 27. The recipients of the degrees include Homer S. Cummings, Walter Lippmann, Judge Samuel A. Sibley, Alfred P. Sloan, William Green, Dr. Francis G. Pease, Dr. Charles H. Herty, Earl Hopper, H. B. Rust and Cator Woolford.

* * *

Summer Schools Attracting Crowds

Georgia Baptist pastors and church workers will assemble in larger numbers than ever before, according to present reports, in the annual "Church Efficiency School" held at Mercer university, Macon, Ga. The six-days school has attracted good crowds from the smaller towns and the country for several years, but attendance this year it appears will exceed the past records. The session runs from June 4-9. Methodist pastors meet annually in the summer at Wesleyan college, Macon, Ga. The attendance on the Methodist pastor's school has grown each year. Methodist

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pastors of North Carolina are meeting at Duke university in their 16th annual session June 11-23.

* * *

Baptists Will Crowd Berlin Convention

Indications are that an unusually large delegation of Americans will go to Berlin in August for the Baptist World alliance meeting. Southern pastors in large numbers are making reservations with travel agencies and steamship lines and the attendance will likely be larger among the ministers of the southeast than at any former Alliance meeting. Here in Florida, and in Georgia, Alabama and the Carolinas the list of pastors planning to attend is much larger than on former occasions. Dr. J. H. Rushbrook, secretary of the alliance, announced from his office in London that other countries would send large quotas also this year.

* * *

45 in Seminary's Graduating Class

Union Presbyterian theological seminary, Richmond, Va., graduated 43 students on May 8. Ten of these graduates were the recipients of graduate degrees. Dr. John McDowell, moderator of the Northern Presbyterian church, was the commencement speaker.

* * *

Proving That Even Southern Presbyteries Differ

Rev. Donald H. Stewart, who was refused admittance to the West Hanover presbytery of Virginia last winter and whose trial was reported in this correspondence, has been admitted to the Orange presbytery of North Carolina without a dissenting vote and has been installed as pastor of the Presbyterian church of Chapel Hill, N. C. Chapel Hill is the seat of the University of North Carolina. Mr. Stewart's admission to the Orange presbytery is said to be due to a laxness in the presbytery's examination rather than a change of views on the part of the minister.

* * *

Seminary Celebrates 75 Years

The Southern Baptist theological seminary, which claims the distinction of having trained more ministers than any other seminary in America, observed her 75th anniversary in connection with the annual commencement program early in May. The institution was founded in Greenville, S. C., and moved to Louisville near the beginning of the century. The founders and great teachers of the seminary were paid high tribute by members of the faculty and alumni. Ninety-one men received degrees from the institution this year.

* * *

Presbyterians Plan Summer Conference Program

Presbyterians are looking forward to an excellent summer program at the church assembly at Massanetta Springs. The conferences run from June 25 to Aug. 26. Among the speakers will be Dr. James Black of Edinburgh, Dr. Fredrick W. Norwood of the City Temple, London, Dr. William L. Stidger, pastor of the Church of All Nations, Boston, and Bishop Arthur J. Moore of the Methodist Episcopal church, whose bishopric has been in California.

ADIEL J. MONCRIEF, JR.

Death Removes Noted Methodist

Dr. H. W. Knickerbocker, Member of Pastor Triumvirate, Is Stricken—Complain Against President

(Correspondence from the Southwest)

WACO, May 25.—The death of Rev. H. W. Knickerbocker, of Houston, breaks a famous triumvirate of brothers in the Methodist ministry. Herman, of the three, had the most dramatic career. While pastor in Los Angeles he experienced doubt of the Methodist way and for a time withdrew from preaching to enter the mining business at Goldfield. It was there that he delivered an oration over the grave of a gambler which has been almost as widely published as Ingersoll's oration at the burial of his brother. Afterward he reentered the ministry and held distinguished pastorates at Temple, Marlin, Houston and elsewhere. He was 66 years of age.

* * *

Students Complain Against President's Strictures

A most unusual occurrence was the open hearing granted to the complaints of 17 students of Arkansas State A. & M. college, Monticello, concerning remarks allegedly made by the president, Frank Horsful. It was claimed by these students that the president had characterized students engaged in dancing with grossly objectionable terms. The governor of the state requested a district judge to conduct the hearing which was attended by the entire student body and hundreds of citizens. Dr. Horsful, an Episcopal layman of high scholarship and much honored for his notable leadership of the school through the last 25 years, said he only meant to make it emphatic that he was opposed to the kind of dancing commonly indulged in. The outcome is undetermined.

* * *

Elect New Baptist College President

Rev. Hale V. Davis having resigned the presidency of Oklahoma Baptist university, Shawnee, the trustees have elected Rev. John W. Raley to succeed. The new president, a Baylor man, is one of the youngest college presidents in America.

* * *

Death Overtakes Bandits

The punitive slaying of Clyde Barrow and his woman companion, Bonnie Parker, near their hideout 90 miles south of Shreveport by the sheriff of the parish, assisted by a former Texas ranger and a Dallas police officer, removes the most dangerous bandits who have ever afflicted the southwest. Both belonged to families which have been chronically criminal, affording data almost as impressive as any connected with the oft-cited Jukes family. Barrow received his only conviction here in Waco, for stealing automobiles. He broke jail and his sentence was changed to consecutive terms which would have caused him to stay in the penitentiary 14 years, but he was paroled by Governor Ross Sterling, after which he is alleged to have committed a dozen murders and a score of bank robberies, in a number of which he was assisted by his poetical, cross-wearing consort. Commendable effort was made to conduct private funerals, at which Rev. Clifford Andrews of the Oak Cliff Full Gospel church officiated.

* * *

Change Name of College

Commencement brings many celebrities to Texas and engages the best home talent. Simmons university, Abilene, rejoicing in a gift of $250,000 from Mr. and Mrs. John B. Hardin of Burkburnett, will change its name to Hardin and Simmons. The occasion will mark the 25th anniversary of J. D. Sandifer as president. Dr. George W. Truett will deliver the address. At McMurray college, in the same city, the address will be by Bishop A. Frank Smith.

JOSEPH MARTIN DAWSON.

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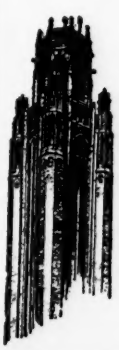

Bulletin now available telling of courses and faculty at joint Summer Sessions of The Chicago Theological Seminary and the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, June 18-July 20, and July 23-August 24. Special courses for Y.W.C.A. secretaries, religious workers with students, and ministers of rural and urban churches.

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Refugee Professors Backed by Turks

Government and Press Stop Disparagement Campaign—Many Students Flock to Their Classes

(Correspondence from Turkey)

ISTANBUL, May 10.—The refugee professors of Istanbul university may be thankful for the way in which both the Turkish authorities and the press have put a stop to the disparaging campaign which of late had been directed against them.

Of all sciences, medicine alone has progressed considerably in Turkey in the last decades, and Turkish medical men have recently enjoyed a justified reputation for ability among their Turkish and foreign clientèle. This amply explains why professors of that branch whose income has suffered from the new competition may have favored the view that the newcomers lack competence. That propaganda culminated in the opposition to Prof. Igersheimer when he was called upon to operate on a cabinet minister. Backed by the government, Prof. Igersheimer performed with great success an operation held to be one of the most delicate in ophthalmology; a feat which was rewarded by a statement issued to the press by the rector of Istanbul university, that since Turkey has the advantage of possessing such eminent specialists there is henceforth no need for any Turk to go abroad for treatment. And, indeed, there have already been cases of patients coming from neighboring countries to be operated on at Istanbul.

Such attacks have been less perceptible in other faculties, though the professor of sociology, Dr. Kessler, was represented in a recent attack as being ignorant of even the rudiments of his science.

This appears to have been the immediate cause for both government and public opinion reacting through the medium of the semi-official "Hakimiyeti-Milliye," while the other great papers followed suit. Istanbul university, as it is now reorganized, was glorified as one of the gazi's greatest achievements, and the disparagers were branded as intriguers.

* * *

Students Flock to Refugee Teachers

Most satisfactory to the refugee professors is the thirst for knowledge evinced by the students. Thus, while Prof. Roepke's lecture on national economy begins on Tuesdays at 9 o'clock, one full hour and more in advance the spacious lecture room is packed with students who have come to secure seats. Among the undergraduates several officers with the rank of captain or even major may be seen eagerly taking notes, together with civil servants who wish to qualify for promotion. Nothing is more likely to illustrate the desire to learn than the presence among the younger generation of a great number of undergraduates well over 30.

The professors lecture in German, French or English, and their course is translated into Turkish, paragraph by paragraph, a method the value of which depends much on the knowledge of the individual translator, which is variable. But in Prof. K. Strupp's debating class on international law, owing to the nature of the subject Turkish is not used, and discussions may be carried on in one of the following languages: French, German, English, Italian, Spanish and Dutch.

Rather surprising is the way the relations of the German authorities have developed with regard to these professors, most of whom are Jews or of Jewish descent. There is no opportunity that has not been seized to show the latter every kind of consideration, and to represent them as bearers of German culture. From time to time, the official nazi paper, the "Turkishe Post," publishes in its columns comments full of praise for the work done by the refugee professors.

* * *

Arabian-Yaman Clash Threatens

War has threatened to break out between the Imam of Yaman and the Wahabbi King Ibn Seoud of Saoudi Arabia, the most striking personality of modern Arabia. An agreement was recently reached regarding several issues pending between the two countries; the most difficult one, however, that of the future status of the province of Najran, being reserved for later discussion. Envoys actually met with a view to consider Ibn Seoud's proposal that both parties should agree to and guarantee the neutrality of Najran as an autonomous province. But while negotiations were going on, the Imam of Yaman sent a military force across the Asir frontier, possibly hoping to weaken King Ibn Seoud's resolution regarding the Najran question. Unverified news of a clash has already been received, but even so this does not mean a regular state of war in Arabia.

* * *

Religious Pilgrims Throng Holy Land

News from Palestine shows Jerusalem crowded with a large number of pilgrims of the three principal faiths. Catholics, many of whom were Englishmen, arrived for Eastertide, whilst Muslims were streaming through Jerusalem en route to Nebi Musa. As for Jews, they come to spend passover at Jerusalem and later on to visit the Levant fair in Tel-Aviv. The result was that all hotels and hospices were literally crammed, many people having to leave Jerusalem to seek hotel accommodadations in other cities.

* * *

Open Chemistry Institute

There was recently opened at Rehoboth the Daniel Sieff institute for agricultural chemistry, endowed by Mr. and Mrs. Israel Sieff, in memory of their son. Dr. Weizmann, the famous Zionist leader, is the head of the institute. At the opening spoke, among others, Prof. Richard Willstaetter, the Jewish chemist who was one of Germany's Nobel prizemen and who resigned his German professorship at the beginning of the Hitlerist regime. The high commissioner, Sir Arthur Wauchhope, conveyed to Dr. Weizmann the congratulations of the colonial secretary, Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, and of the high commissioner for German refugees, Mr. James G. Macdonald.

E. GUERON.

Labor Struggle in Twin Cities

Truck Drivers Tie Up All Commercial Traffic—Governor Runs on Public Ownership Platform

(Correspondence from Minnesota)

VIRGINIA, MINN., May 19.—The Twin Cities are experiencing a major labor difficulty in the strike of their truck drivers. In Minneapolis the strike was made effective on May 15, and in St. Paul it began three days later. In the latter city, the strike is just going into effect as this article is being written, consequently I can tell nothing of its methods. But in Minneapolis, a very efficient organization has been set up and affairs are being conducted by the strikers with almost military precision. The strike ties up practically all the commercial traffic of the city, even the baggage of outgoing travelers being confined to hand luggage. Hospitals are exempt and farmers are allowed to bring milk and produce into the city if they agree to join the drivers' union. This most of them refuse to do. It is interesting to note that beer trucks are allowed to move freely.

As usual there are various interpretations of the causes of the strike. Certainly the closed shop has been one of the major issues, but it seems that this demand was modified before the strike was called. The statement was made that if the men could be protected against summary discharge, and if the principle of seniority could be established in the industry, the union would be satisfied. The employers maintain that the asking of the union is in reality a demand for the closed shop and to that they will not agree. They declare that the wage rate is considerably above that required by the code, and that wages have not been brought to the fore as an issue. The state labor board has endeavored to settle the controversy and the governor has also taken a hand in it, but up to the present time all efforts have been unavailing.

* * *

Beale Again Asks Citizenship

Rev. T. F. Rutledge Beale, pastor of the People's church, St. Paul, who it may be remembered was denied citizenship last year because of his attitude toward bearing arms, has again petitioned the government to be given the status of a citizen of the United States. He states through his attorney that his attitude toward war is based on the declaration of the Paris peace pact. He is not even a conscientious objector, but stands on the provisions of the treaty which outlaws war and which is an integral part of the nation's laws. It will be interesting to follow the course of this second application.

* * *

Farmer-Labor Platform

The two old parties of Minnesota, long without much political ammunition, have been supplied with a whole arsenal for their political warfare this year. This was furnished some time ago by none other than Gov. Floyd Olson when he came out with a platform calling among many other things, for "public ownership of all mines,

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waterpower, transportation and communication, banks, packing plants, factories and all public utilities, provided that this shall not apply to bona fide cooperatively owned and operated enterprises."

This does provide a real issue and is perhaps as clear and uncompromising a statement concerning public ownership as has been made by a political leader. Naturally it has been seized by the opposition, and is being used everywhere in the campaign against the farmer-labor candidates for congress and state offices. The Minneapolis Journal is carrying each day the cut of some one county of the state, giving the number of factories in that county, the number of employes, the wages paid, and the taxes turned into the state treasury. Then this statement is made: "In the approaching election, the question which these voters will have to decide is whether they want the present individual ownership and management to continue or if they desire the factory run by a bureau located at the state capitol."

* * *

Pastor Defends Grand Jury

The March-April session of the Hennepin county grand jury has been criticized for its rather long session and consequent large expense, and has been asked to make a detailed report of its committee sessions. Dr. Frank E. Day, pastor of the Brookside Community church, Minneapolis, a member of the jury in question, invited his fellow jury members to his church last Sunday, and in his sermon defended the action of the jury. He termed the criticism a smoke screen, and declared the expense issue was a part of "the strategy of sin." Dr. Day stated that the effort to obtain the evidence on which Attorney General Cummings based his statement of some months ago concerning the lawlessness of the Twin Cities, was effectually blocked through the refusal of the attorney general's office to cooperate with the grand jury.

* * *

Church Celebrates Jubilee

On May 24, Wesley Methodist church of Minneapolis concluded a two months jubilee program in honor of the 75th anniversary of the founding of the church. Wesley has had three church buildings, the present one having been dedicated on May 24, 1891. William A. Brown, associate pastor of the church, is the jubilee pastor who headed up the program. The culminating service of the jubilee was a great service at the city auditorium at which Dr. Merton S. Rice of Detroit was the speaker. A part of the jubilee was the raising of $100 for each of the 75 years of Wesley's history. Under the leadership of Dr. George Mecklenburg, this downtown church is rendering splendid service.

* * *

And So Forth

Rev. W. A. (Billy) Sunday spent a day in Minneapolis during April. He spoke at the Holiness mission, and addressed a city-wide assembly at the First Baptist church at night. He retains much of his youthful vigor.

Dr. Ewart Turner, of the American church of Berlin, has been speaking during the past month in the Twin Cities, Duluth and a number of other communities of the state.

EDWARD W. STODGHILL.

Debate Plans for Aiding Churches

British Congregationalists Refer New Scheme to Fall Assembly—Lancashire Shows No Signs of Recovery

(Correspondence from England)

LONDON, May 15.—It is generally agreed that the Congregational assembly made decisions last week of far-reaching importance. The delegates showed that it was within the power of a large assembly to consider closely, and in detail, the future of their church. Admirably led by Rev. T. T. James, who was the chairman for the year, they persevered in a way not common in large popular assemblies. In the end they passed the scheme for reorganization of their work with some modifications. The plan of grouping counties into provinces will not go forward and will be presented to the individual counties for their approval.

Perhaps the most significant action of the assembly was its unanimous decision to call for a sustentation scheme to be offered for its judgment in the autumn. The plan before the assembly was a much more tentative endeavor to secure help for the poorer ministers by voluntary offerings of the ministers and their churches. It is now decided that the assembly must at least consider a scheme of sustentation by means of which churches would be definitely assessed, as is the case now in the Presbyterian churches. There are many difficulties in the way. Such a scheme cannot be dissociated from a regularized ministerial order. To persuade the churches of the Congregationalist tradition to accept such a radical change will not be easy. But by taking the step which it took last Wednesday the assembly pledged itself to consider it seriously.

* * *

The New Congregational Chairman

Mr. Angus Watson is to be the new chairman-elect of the Congregational churches. He is a well-tried and greatly-loved layman. Some little while ago he retired from his business, one of the greatest in the north of England, because it had become too impersonal. His interest in industry had been a personal matter and he found it becoming increasingly an abstract and impersonal affair. So he went out of it. He has been a keen supporter of every good cause, and as he proved last week, when he presided over the L.M.S. annual meeting in the Queen's hall, he is an admirable speaker. The Northumbians will be ready to admit that they could offer no worthier son of the north for this service of all the churches. There will be every reason to expect that this layman, when his term of office comes next year, will bring not only excellent gifts of leadership in the realm of affairs, but also gifts of spiritual experience for our enrichment.

* * *

A Journey Northwards

Like Mr. J. B. Priestley, though not in the same thorough fashion, I have had an opportunity of visiting one of the stricken cities of this country. I went by road to Lancashire. The most cheerful sight I saw on the way was in Coventry, through which I passed at noon. The streets were thronged with men and women coming out of the factories and other places of business. But in Lancashire there were few signs of any relief from the terrible strain of unemployment. It is not that there were any signs of violence or mutterings of revolution. The town was in perfect order. It was horribly clean. Lancashire, when it is busy, has much smoke in evidence. Nor were there evidences, such as I remember seeing in my childhood during hard times, of widespread

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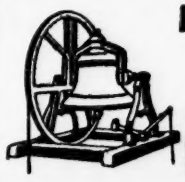

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physical need. They were not "clemmed," as the Lancashire men used to say when they meant to speak of starvation. But the brave Lancashire spirit seemed to have lost hope. Some of the mills, the best equipped in the world, are being dismantled. In one mill they are making dog-biscuits. They do not know whence their help will come.

But they do not forget their churches. In one new district of this town I saw a most beautiful church, so original, so simple and so lovely, that it made one wish to shout Alleluia! This was dedicated a year ago in the days of the deepest depression. I cannot believe that in these days when we are looking for a returning prosperity Lancashire will be left without hope. A people such as those who dwell in its valleys are too great to be allowed to lose their place in our national life.

A visit to such a place makes me say with more confidence than ever, "Thank God for the dole!"

* * *

And So Forth

The L.M.S. had very encouraging meetings last week. The sermon by Canon Raven was a most serious and moving appeal based upon the words in the end of St. Matthew. "Power, universality, fellowship" were the main themes.

The death of "John Henry" the comedian, who took his life this week, will bring many grateful memories of early B.B.C. days. He was the first man to master the secret of vaudeville on the air. He was himself a very learned linguist, but on the B.B.C. he was just a Yorkshireman with a perfect Yorkshire accent. A week or two ago he came back again to the microphone and was as merry as ever.

Lord Salisbury has been presenting his scheme for a reformed house of lords to his fellow-peers. The government showed no sympathy for the proposals, which will not go further. The reforms were really intended to frustrate the measures which a labor government might introduce if it were in a majority. The idea was to have a smaller house, 300 in number, partly hereditary and partly nominated. But the discussion, though valuable, was not concerned with practical politics.

EDWARD SHILLITO.

NORTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

(Continued from page 774)

sion of fifteen appointed last May in Washington, and they have been busy at it during the year.

Rotation on Boards

The first problem tackled was the rather minor one of rotation of membership on the various boards, the idea being to permit as many Baptists as possible to fulfil a laudable ambition to serve their denomination in an official position. This was done by limiting the number of terms during which any board member could succeed himself, so that someone else may have a chance to sacrifice himself on the altar of his denomination. An exception to this was made by the convention in the ministers' and missionaries' benefit board, on the ground that it is a fiduciary body, and when it gets a wise member, ought to be able to hang on to him and the members of the finance committee of other boards for the same reason.

Among the very many details of the quite elaborate reorganization planned by the commission, we can speak only of two, which were each productive of long and vigorous debate.

No Extra Gifts for Missions

The first was the battle over "specifics." A "specific" is not a medicine as some may suppose, but a gift to a good cause that is not in the budget of the society to which it is offered. There were those in the convention who thought that societies ought to be permitted to receive as many "specifics" as people were willing to give. Baptists are individualists, they said. They believe in the voluntary principle and in individual freedom. You must look at this question from the point of view of the individual giver, not from that of an organization, and let a man give to what appeals to him, not try to regiment him. If you do, he will give elsewhere than to the denomination, to some "faith mission," perhaps. But, as the final vote revealed, there was a majority of 20 people in the convention that agreed with the commission of 15, who ruled that "specifics" must not be received by the societies; that only money given to objects in the unified budget might be accepted. They said that the seeking or accepting of "specifics" would destroy the whole cooperative program of the denomination, which regards the tasks of the respective societies as parts of a single undertaking.

Foreign Missions Seek Special Gifts

The foreign mission societies in particular would like to be free to solicit "specifics," to let anyone who desired to do so build a hospital, for example, even though they had no thought or had not dared to put it in the budget, or send out a new missionary in whom he had a special interest even though that was not in the budget. Those who disagree say that, of course, a society like the foreign mission society has a sort of appeal that other less spectacular causes do not have, education, for example, and that with this liberty foreign missions might get so much of the available money that other causes, just as important but less attractive, would suffer. The commission of 15, at least, thought so, and only 879 could be mustered in the convention to disagree with it, as against 898 who stood with it. So the report of the commission won at this point, and it was decided that if people won't give to the unified budget their gifts are not wanted. One can feel little assurance, however, that a decision so close that the shift of ten votes in 1800 would reverse it, can permanently settle any question of principle.

No Merging Mission Societies

Having won their main contention, the commission, in a spirit of concession, agreed that the societies might accept unsolicited specifics if the finance committee was willing. The important word here is "unsolicited." If there should be another earthquake in Japan or famine in China, no Northern Baptists agency could call upon its constituency for a penny to meet the emergency. If this be democracy, give us autocracy!

The other crucial element in the report that excited much debate was the question whether the two foreign missions societies, general and women's, together with the two home mission societies, general and women's, should be merged in a single society. The commission said they should be, for the sake of efficiency and economy. And it would probably have been so ordered had it not been for the quite emotional appeal of the officers of the women's societies, who denied that it would make for either efficiency or economy and pleaded that they be permitted to do their own work in their own way as in the past. It was hard for the convention to determine where wisdom lies, as is evidenced in the vote of 935 to 621. The counsel "never to kill a living thing" prevailed, however, against the advice of the commission.

Later, by a resolution introduced by Pres. A. W. Beaven, a less ambitious consolidation was proposed, and the mission societies were asked to appoint committees to work toward a single home society and a single foreign society.

Other proposals of the commission, passed without debate, were the measures for amending the by-laws, the formation of a council on world evangelization, a unified program of Christian education, and the simplification of administrative agencies.

Standards of Ministerial Efficiency

Another constructive piece of planning was undertaken at Rochester in the realm of standards for the ministry. Conventions have tackled this problem in the past, and dropped it again. It is peculiarly difficult among Baptists. Again their voluntary principle rises to plague them. The Baptist procedure, like some others, has the defects of its qualities. Every local autonomous church has theoretically the right to ordain whomever it pleases. Some exercise that right generously, and as ordination anywhere is, by common consent, accepted as valid everywhere, embarrassments result. Many thousands of Baptist ministers are unemployed. The denomination is a haven for untrained or half-trained men who are denied admission to denominations that have official educational requirements. But a committee this year, under the able leadership of Rev. R. G. Schell, of Chicago, made a promising start in the right direction. A ministers' and missionaries' council was set upon its way, to create a registry of information regarding ministers, missionaries and churches, to assist in establishing helpful means for the exchange and settlement of pastors, and to promote a fellowship for the protection of churches, pastors and missionaries. The organization is based upon the idea that ministers themselves can best set standards for their own vocation, and that their problems can best be met by themselves. This looks like an NRA code for ministers, or a sort of ministerial trade union.

Resolutions Adopted

Having disposed of questions of organization, the convention seemed to turn again with unabated and eager zest on the fourth day to the vital issues in "such a time as this," as they were presented by the committee on resolutions. We have never had before quite such a report as this, so well considered and so forthright and discerning. If there were space, it is worthy of being printed in full. It was received with

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enthusiasm. Baptists have no confidence in the prevalent federal or state policies as to the control of the liquor traffic. They think things are going from bad to worse. They are alarmed by liquor advertising over the radio. They urge education for total abstinence. They are willing to join forces with any and all in plans to curb the liquor traffic. They are scandalized at the license exercised by the moving picture producers. They want block-booking and blind selling to be prohibited and favor federal supervision of the production of pictures. They are opposed to gambling in any guise, though patronized by states or congress. All this, and much else was put in vigorous language and unanimously approved.

War and Peace

A debate ensued, however, upon war and peace, and it was the liveliest session of a lively convention. The committee declared that "in view of the fact that our government has, in recent years, imposed the test of military service as a qualification for citizenship, we are convinced that the time has come to call upon our pastors and people to defend openly the right of alien conscientious objectors in obtaining American citizenship."

Moreover, the committee, in line with the fruitful suggestion of Dr. Palmer in The Christian Century and editorials that supported it, affirmed the belief "that the time has come to register our conviction against war, and to formulate our personal commitment to the mind of Christ in a definite stand against every form of aggressive war, and thus to assure the world that we will not make it necessary for any other nations to defend itself against us. To this end," the committee continued, "we earnestly commend to our people, as a primary step, the signing of personal non-invasion pledges by our Baptist constituency, saying: 'Reserving the right of national self-defense by such means as may seem to me wise, effective and Christian, I, from now on, definitely repudiate all aggressive war. I will cross no national boundary to kill and to destroy, nor will I support my government in sending its army or navy to do so.' "

An ex-service man dissented to that most vigorously and wanted it all to be deleted and this precipitated the avalanche. Young men, many of them with a war record, crowded to the platform to support the resolution, and spoke with eloquence born out of deep feeling. When the president closed the debate there were a dozen waiting to be heard, and the resolution was adopted by a 10 to 1 vote. Youth, which had been left cold by the debates on denominational machinery, were roused to fever heat by the live issue of war. It is an augury of which their elders may well take note.

The Federal Council

A word about how the Federal council fared at this convention. It was praised by Justin Wroe Nixon and its necessity demonstrated; its principles were lauded by McNeill Poteat, a visiting Southern Baptist from North Carolina (who incidentally delivered one of the most stimulating addresses of the session and told Baptists what they ought to do and be); it was specifically endorsed in the resolutions; and it was defined and advocated in a notable address by its president, Dr. A. W. Beaven of Colgate-Rochester divinity school. But most noteworthy of all, after it had been the theological football of a little group of determined reactionaries for years, this convention, at the instance of Dr. Beaven, unanimously voted to urge the finance committee to do what it could to restore the convention's contribution to its treasury from the meager $3,000 which it has lately been giving, to the $10,000 which it formerly gave.

This account must be mailed before the address on Sunday morning of Raymond Robins and the annual sermon by Dr. Harold C. Phillips, so that a report of these and other good things to come must regretfully be omitted.

President A. A. Shaw, of Denison university, was elected president for the ensuing year. He was described in a Rochester newspaper as "chairman of the ministers' and millionaires' benefit board." Since for "millionaires" we should read "missionaries," the error has in it something of the ludicrous. The next session of the convention will be held in Colorado Springs.

ROBERT A. ASHWORTH.

The New Films

These summaries and evaluations are supplied by the National Film Estimate service. Estimates are for three groups: A, intelligent adults; Y, youth (15-20 years); C, children (under 15 years).

Bride of Samoa

(Native cast) (Central Films) Travelog stuff, showing preparations, tribal rites and ceremonies, feasting, etc., attendant upon betrothal of young Samoan couple. Parts of real educational value, but whole is made cheap and sensational by prolonged footage of sensuous dancing and suggestive comments by accompanying voice.

For A: Poor. For Y: No. For C: No.

Come on Marines

(Richard Arlen, Ida Lupino) (Para) Absurd, rowdy stuff about a marine sergeant, demoted for an unsavory affair with a cafe dancer, and consigned to the Philippine jungles. Sensational excitement there in rescue of shipwrecked girls. Much racy dialog and vulgar humor throughout.

For A: Silly. For Y: Decidedly not. For C: No.

I Like It That Way

(Gloria Stuart, Roger Pryor) (Universal) Heroine making her honest living in a night club, superior to all temptation, converts and wins a chronic playboy. Heroine is quite convincing, but hero is crude. Most of film merely gay stuff, cheap people and thoroughly unwholesome atmosphere.

For A: Crude. For Y: Doubtful. For C: No.

Murder at the Vanities

(Victor McLaglen, Kitty Carlisle) (Para) Fast, sensational and wildly improbable Follies performance, with elaborate stage pictures, dances and nudity plus—the whole punctuated by an ardent love-affair, jealous mistress, three murders and a dumb detective. Comic little maid does the only real acting.

For A: Depends on taste. For Y: Better not. For C: No.

Poor Rich, The

(E. E. Horton, Edna May Oliver) (Univ.) Entertaining farce comedy with character interest, clean humor, romance and some slapstick. Horton and Miss Oliver clever as penniless cousins who return to deserted ancestral home and entertain supposedly rich nobility under false pretenses. Amusing for any audience.

For A: Amusing. For Y: Good. For C: Amusing.

Sadie McKee

(Joan Crawford, Gene Raymond, Franchot Tone) (MGM) Joan does good work in mediocre and sensational story. As cook's daughter she first loves and is betrayed by a spineless youth, then marries drunken millionaire whom she reforms, and finally finds true love with childhood playmate.

For A: Fair of kind. For Y: Unsuitable. For C: No.

Upperworld

(Warren William, Mary Astor) (Warner) Trite and unconvincing domestic drama with implausible characters. Husband, railroad magnate, is neglected by socially ambitious wife and turns to kindly show girl. Melodramatic complications include two murders for which hero is tried and acquitted. Reconciliation with wife for happy ending.

For A: Hardly. For Y: No. For C: No.

Best Recent Films for Family:

David Harum	Twenty Million Sweethearts
Wild Cargo	Thirty-Day Princess
House of Rothschild	Melody in Spring

Films of Special Interest to Adults:

Death Takes a Holiday	Rip Tide
Catherine the Great	Mystery of Mr. X
The Lost Patrol	Once to Every Woman

BOOKS RECEIVED

Yellow Jack, a History, by Sidney Howard, in collaboration with Paul de Kruif. Harcourt, $2.00.

What is Sound Money, and Who Will Control it, England or America? by James H. R. Cromwell. Economic Forum, 60 W. 12th St., New York, 25 cents.

It's Your Life—? by Gerald B. Wadsworth. Logos Press, Freeport, N. Y., $1.00.

Gold Mountain, by Philip F. Payne. Friendship Press, $1.00.

Out of the East, by Allan A. Hunter. Friendship Press, $1.00.

Measurement in Radio, by F. H. Lumley. Ohio State University, $3.00.

First and Last, by Ring Lardner. Scribners, $2.50.

The United States and Cuba, by Harry F. Guggenheim. Macmillan, $2.50.

Christianity and the Modern Chaos, by William George Peck. Morehouse, $1.00.

Report of the Commission on the Social Studies: Conclusions and Recommendations. Scribners, $1.25.

International Law, by Charles G. Fenwick. Revised edition. Appleton-Century, $4.00.

The Windows of the Soul, by John Lewis. Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 3/6.

The Son of God, by Karl Adam. Sheed & Ward, $3.00.

Tin Soldiers, by Robert Wohlforth. Alfred H. King, Inc., $2.00.

European Civilization and Politics Since 1815, by Erik Achorn. Harcourt, $5.00.

Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson, by E. M. Forster. Harcourt, $3.00.

Premillennialism, by Abraham Kuyper. Zondervan, 35 cents.

The Biblical Doctrine of Election, by A. Kuyper. Zondervan, 25 cents.

Why Is Christianity Supernatural? by Arthur Carey. Zondervan, 10 cents.

Gospel of Fascism, by Kirton Varley. Generation Press, 75 Varick St., New York. $2.50.

People at Work, by Frances Perkins. John Day, $2.50.

The Singer Passes, an Indian Tapestry, by Maud Diver. Dodd, Mead, $2.50.

History and Destiny of the Jews, by Josef Kastein. Viking, $5.00.

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CONTENTS—SUMMER, 1934

WHAT MY RELIGION MEANS TO ME ..... J. Edgar Park
WHITHER LIBERALISM ..... Gaius Glen Atkins
THE HOLY GHOST IN MYSTICAL EXPERIENCE ..... R. Birch Hoyle
FORM CRITICISM ..... Frederick C. Grant
OUR CHRISTIAN MORALITY ..... Irl G. Whitchurch
THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION ..... William Adams Brown
CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCE IN A SCIENCE-DOMINATED WORLD ..... A. Stewart Woodburne
TWO VIEWS OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION ..... S. A. Courtis and Sidney Case McCammon
THE CHURCH AND EDUCATION FOR THE FAMILY ..... L. Foster Wood
CHARACTER VALUES IN INDIAN ART ..... Mary Frances Carpenter
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THE FUNCTION OF CRITICISM IN LITERATURE ..... Carl E. Grammer
GARDENING FOR EXPERIENCE ..... J. F. Berg
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